





# Employers' move Pride and grudges buried in the mine

## fails to halt school strikes

By Andrew Moneer,

Education Staff

Children at 201 schools will miss lessons this week as members of the National Union of Teachers go ahead with strikes, despite moves to break the deadlock in their pay dispute.

The NUT yesterday released the list of schools in 20 areas where selective stoppages, ranging from half-day to three-day action, will start tomorrow. More than 4,000 teachers are being called out.

The National Association of Schoolmasters/Union of Women Teachers, is also taking action in 27 areas, including 16 newly-targeted conservative education authorities. Its members are staging querrilla strikes which will affect thousands of pupils.

Sir Fred Jarvis, general secretary of the NUT, made it clear yesterday that disruptive

action in schools would continue although the employers agreed on Friday to renew negotiations on the teachers' pay. They agreed to reconvene the Burnham Committee and to seek informal talks with the unions, to discuss the basis on which more money could be sought from Sir Keith Joseph, the Education Secretary.

Mr Jarvis welcomed the moves but said that they could not affect action planned for this week. "Action must continue until clear movement by the employers makes an acceptable solution a real possibility," he said.

Teachers' union leaders will meet tomorrow to discuss the management initiative. The unions have rejected a 4 per cent offer and arbitration and are seeking a minimum 10 per cent rise worth nearly 12.5 per cent.

## Extra security for US arsenal in Europe

By David Fairhall,

Defence Correspondent

The US Air Force is to make fundamental changes in the way it stores nuclear bombs on its European bases as part of a wider Nato programme to improve the security and wartime survival of its tactical nuclear stockpile.

Instead of storing the bombs together, inside special "igloos" in a corner of the base, they will be dispersed round the airfield in vaults underneath individual aircraft shelters.

To destroy them in a pre-emptive strike an enemy would have to bomb or sabotage dozens of hardened concrete shelters instead of one storage bunker.

The change will cost a substantial sum over the next three years — \$4 million has been requested to start the work next year. But the USAF hopes to recover at least some of the money by reducing the number of security personnel, and the time needed to load a bomber such as the F-111 with a nuclear weapon will be halved.

The new system has been developed after research by the US Defence Nuclear Agency which included a test in New Mexico in 1981, codenamed Distant Runner, to demonstrate that the underground vaults could survive a large conventional explosion.

## Bishops to lead peace mission over cruise

By Martin Halsall,

Churches Correspondent

Christian CND, which recently took the Church of England to the High Court over the proposed sale of church land to the Ministry of Defence at the Molesworth cruise missile base, is to work with two bishops in its first peace mission to parishes divided over nuclear weapons.

Talks are expected shortly between the chairman of Christian CND, Mr Paul Johns, the Bishop of Ely, the Rt Rev Peter Walker, whose diocese includes the base, and the suffragan Bishop of Huntingdon, the Rt Rev Gordon Roe, who previously blessed the peace chapel now isolated behind barbed wire.

"This is the first time we have had this sort of exchange with the hierarchy of the Church of England," said Mr Johns.

"The bishop has now said explicitly he wants to talk to Christian CND about just how we can help to calm troubled waters in the community."

The future of the 1.5 acres of land near the main gate of the base, and a retirement home for two circus ponies, is still to be decided. It is expected to be raised today at a meeting of financial experts from the Peterborough diocese, which owns the land.

More concrete proposals are expected by the diocesan Glebe Committee, which next meets on June 24.

A diocesan spokesman said that they had given no undertaking either to sell or not to sell the land but would agree to abide by undertakings given in court if a sale was proposed.

## Murrell murder: new theory

By Richard Norton-Taylor

West Mercia police are believed to be considering the possibility that the 78-year-old anti-nuclear campaigner who died last year, was murdered by a private detective acting for the police or another security service.

Miss Murrell's body was found six miles from her home in Shropshire. She had been punched and stabbed and left to die of exposure.

It is known that private investigators, some of whom have been contacted by special branch officers from the West Mercia force, work from time to time for the security service. It is also known that private detectives were investigating objections to plans to build a pressurised water nuclear reactor (PWR) — in which a number of companies, British and American, have a stake — at Sizewell, Suffolk at the time Miss Murrell died in March, 1984.

The Sunday Telegraph yesterday reported one private detective who had been interviewed by special branch officers as saying that "something went badly wrong and it involved officialdom." It was suggested yesterday that West Mercia police may have been prompted to renew its investigation by the independent inquiry into the murder now being undertaken by Mr Peter Smith, assistant chief constable of Northumbria police.

Mr Peter Hamilton, former military intelligence officer who now runs Zeus Security Consultants, has said that he had been asked secretly to investigate Shewell objects for a "private client."

No trace can be found today of the jubilation and pride with which 1,000 striking miners walked back through the pit gates at Kellingley, North Yorkshire, waving their NUM banner. Seven weeks have passed since the end of the strike and the heady days of defiance are over.

"I never thought I would be saying this, after 12 months of resisting everything that had been thrown at us, but we did not just lose the battle, we lost the whole bloody war," said one of the miners.

Like most of his colleagues, he is now frightened for his job and anxious not to be identified. But he added, smiling: "We gave them a fight."

Kellingley, once Europe's most productive pit, has at a superficial level recovered rapidly from the 12-month dispute. With the geological problems which put two faces out of action, the pit produced 32,000 tons of sale-

Kellingley Colliery seems normal but the wounds of strife run deep. David Hearst reports

able coal in three days two weeks ago, and last week was expected to top the 50,000-ton mark, which compares well with its highest ever figure of 62,000 tons.

Mr William Sykes, production manager for the North Yorkshire area, said last week that coal could not be produced in this quantity if, as many were not being restored down the pit.

But many of the miners who were on strike remain bitter about what has happened and uncertain about the future. Pit managers are relieved that the running of their pits is at last in their hands after 12 months when they had to listen to others speak for them.

Union leaders are close to despondency as they realise that they have no power to

contest dismissals of men charged with offences who have yet to appear before a court. "They can walk all over us if they want to," said one official.

When the strike ended just over half of Kellingley's 2,000 miners had returned to work. Senior management were determined to integrate the strikers with the working miners. They split up teams and warned the strikers that guerrilla warfare would not be tolerated. The manager, Mr Percy Simpson, and his staff spent most of the first week interviewing every striking miner about his attitude and his intentions.

Along with the management talk about the need to bury the hatchet and put together specific injunctions. From now on, calling a colleague a scab

would be classed as verbal intimidation and could result in dismissal. Only eight miners have been sacked in Yorkshire since the end of the strike, and five of those were at a pit in South Yorkshire. The message has got home, the Coal Board claims.

In fact, the passion is far from over. Miners who broke the strike, especially before Christmas, are now called "Henrys" after Henry Wakefield of TV's Coronation Street. Henry's unemployed lodger had to leave his job, because he had been scabbing and could not bear it any more.

The atmosphere is thick with accusation. Mr David Miller, NUM branch secretary, said: "It is a potentially explosive situation. The manager, calling a colleague a scab

genuine in wanting to calm the whole situation down, but the union cannot control the men's feelings. There have been one or two punch-ups in pubs, but we are reaching the stage where the lads who stuck it out to the end can be so easily set up."

Mr Miller told of an ex-picketer who had a row with his former friend, a working miner, in a pub. A scuffle developed and later the former picket was brought before management. He said that he was being watched. His interviewer named each pub he had been into on that Saturday night in Wakefield, some way from Kellingley.

Mr Miller said: "They are saying on our men when they are off duty in pubs. There is an atmosphere of repression and arrogance at the pit. We

have instructed the lads to cool it. The Coal Board is desperately carrying on an atmosphere where scabs can victimise innocent people."

Mr Sykes denies that his managers are spying on potential trouble-makers. He said: "Where names are named, we have both people in, eyeball-to-eyeball and try and sort it out. I want to nip conflict in the bud before it festers."

But Mr Sykes wants to leave miners in no doubt that if they are not prepared to work with any of their colleagues they are out.

The board hopes that fair management and good bonuses will gradually heal the wounds, and seems prepared to tolerate the simmering discontent as long as it does not become too visible.

Mr Miller is less sanguine: "It is like a Chekov play. Nothing seems to happen, but everything collapses in the end."

## TV losing ground in honesty stakes

By Dennis Barker

PUBLIC scepticism about television is growing, according to a new survey.

Among those questioned, 46 per cent thought that TV was "something deliberately misleading", compared with 38 per cent who regarded it as "generally honest".

The finding is bound to cause concern amongst broadcasters, who learnt recently that the public is watching less TV than before. Average viewing per week stood at 20 hours 35 minutes in 1983, compared with 20 hours 45 minutes the previous year, and the downward trend is believed to have continued since.

The survey of attitudes to TV, which was carried out by Professor Martin Collins, visiting professor in market research at City University in London, is to be published shortly in the Annual Review of BBC Broadcasting Research Findings.

The report showed that the public even less enamoured of the press. Of a random sample of 1,146 people, 40 per cent named a TV channel as the most accurate and detailed source of information about public issues, with only 20 per cent mentioning the press.

Of the four TV channels, BBC1 was identified by 35 per cent as the most accurate and detailed source, compared with only 10 per cent for ITV.

The survey also given more often as the primary source of news, but was regarded as a rather greater extent than BBC2 as being likely to reflect the government view on each issue. Channel 4 was most often expected not to reflect the government view.

The BBC was seen to be generally supportive of the government view. Channel 4 to be anti-establishment, and ITV and Channel 5 to be clearly identified positions.

A separate survey also to be published in the BBC's research review, shows how the popularity of various sports is gradually changing. Football now runs third, with tennis at number two and snooker at number one.

Between 1979 and 1983 the percentage of those surveyed who were interested in snooker rose from 49 per cent to 64 per cent, while those interested in tennis dropped from 55 per cent to 53 per cent, football in fact dropped from 61 per cent to 50 per cent, despite a financially lean time for the sport.

Athletics slipped from 61 to 50 per cent interest skating from 47 to 43, show jumping from 49 to 40, darts from 45 to 40, swimming from 45 to 35, and boxing from 35 to 34 per cent.

## Widow of 83 dies in fire

Mrs Gertrude Hollister, an 83-year-old widow, died in a fire at her terrace cottage in Painswick, near Stroud, Glos, yesterday.

She was found in a downstairs bedroom after firemen broke in.

## Sea rescue

Two men were pulled from the sea yesterday after a prize-winning yacht, the 52-foot *Rosy III*, had been capsized by a heavy sea off Hartlepool, Cleveland. The men saved were the skipper and owner, Mr Ian Fotheringham and Mr Peter Skillen.



One of two Soviet diplomats expelled from Britain for spying last week. Captain Oleg Los, leaves from Heathrow Airport, London, yesterday with his wife, Valentina. Captain Los was assistant naval attaché at the Soviet Embassy in London from November, 1982

## Strikers angry over firebomb attack by INLA against Dublin store

From Joe Joyce

In Dublin

The Irish National Liberation Army was widely criticised yesterday for planting two firebombs in a Dublin store where staff have been on strike for nine months over the selling of South African produce.

The first device exploded in Dúnas street in the city centre on Saturday. The store had been cleared after a warning was telephoned to newspapers, and there were no injuries. A second device planted behind the building was exploded by an Irish Army bomb disposal robot.

The strongest criticism of the INLA action came from the 12 strikers in the city centre. The INLA has destroyed nine months' work in one morning, one said. "We're going to have to work a lot harder to win back support that we have lost over this."

The INLA said in a statement that it would take "further action" unless the dispute is settled. Dúnas street is one of Ireland's largest supermarkets and department store chains. Its head, Mr Ben Dunne, was kidnapped for ransom and released unharmed in South Armagh in 1981.

The strike began when a check-out girl, Miss Mary Martin, refused to pass South African fruit bought by a customer last July. She was dismissed and 11 of her colleagues went on strike.

Her action was taken in response to a circular from her union, the Irish Distributive and Administrative trade union, which drew attention to a resolution of its annual conference calling for a boycott of South African goods. Although it has won support from the union and backing from the Irish Congress of Trade Unions, the strike has

called into question whether unions who readily pass such resolutions intend to make them stick.

The strikers have received moral and financial support from anti-apartheid groups, sections of the Catholic Church in Ireland, and Bishop Desmond Tutu, the Anglican Bishop of Johannesburg. The NUM president, Mr Arthur Scargill, visited the picket line last Friday during a visit to Dublin.

An attempt by Bishop Tutu to settle the dispute failed last week. His envoy, Mr Dan Vaughan, of the South African Council of Churches, met both sides in Dublin. The company told him that the strikers could have their jobs back if they accepted the terms of their contracts, requiring them to handle all produce. Mr Vaughan said: "It is staggering that this matter has gone on for so long."

## Police 'stranded children's party'

One of three Ulster women detained under anti-terrorist laws in Scotland at the weekend has accused the British government of deliberately attempting to wreck a short holiday break for 15 Irish children.

The women, who run a disco for children in the Ardara area of Belfast, were escorting a party of 15 children for a holiday in Glasgow.

They were arrested by the police on Friday night while leaving the ferry from Larne at Stranraer.

Mrs Mary Bradley, aged 37, who was released on Saturday without being charged, said that the children had been left stranded at the port.

"We were only trying to ring the children who have only experienced the troubles in Ireland over to Scotland for a short break away from it all," she said. "Instead, they end up seeing us being carted off by the branch."

The other two women, Mrs

Janice Quinn and Mrs Linda McGuire, were released last night without charges.

The holiday was organised by the Glasgow Prisoners' Association for the children of Republican prisoners in Ulster and financed by individual donations collected by the children's holiday group based in Glasgow.

Mr Frank McCann, from Barnhead, near Glasgow, who was hired by the children's holiday group to transport the children from Stranraer to Glasgow said: "I waited until everyone was off the ferry and there was no sign of my passengers."

When I was told that the three women with children had been detained under the Prevention of Terrorism Act.

"Special branch officers told me that if I didn't want to take the children they would need to be taken into the care of the local authority."

Mrs McCann took the children to Glasgow.

Mrs Bradley said: "If the bus driver, who is a total stranger to all of us, hadn't taken on the responsibility of taking the kids to Glasgow they would have been put in care."

"What I don't understand is why the branch didn't stop us at Larne because we filled in the pink boarding pass there. They obviously wanted to create the maximum inconvenience for us and the children."

Mrs Bradley also said that the cell in which the three women were detained at Stranraer "was filthy and disgusting" and that none of the women was allowed to wash or have a change of clothing.

Each of the women had one of her own children with her. A Home Office spokesman said last night that he was not prepared to comment on the detentions or the reasons for them.

## NEWS IN BRIEF

### 16 arrests at USAF Alconbury

SIXTEEN people were arrested yesterday after protesters at the US Air Force base at Alconbury in Cambridgeshire had broken through the perimeter fence, writes Alcon Ballantyne.

One woman is to appear before magistrates in Huntingdon today but the other nine men and eight women were released without charge.

Police said the protesters cut through the wire fence and some climbed on to the wing of a parked plane during the demonstration.

In recent weeks there have been repeated protests at Alconbury, which will become the support base for the proposed cruise missile site at Molesworth.

### Girl's transplant cost 'doubles'

THE Mother of Brooke Matthews, aged five, the world's youngest heart-lung transplant patient, has been told that the operation at Harefield Hospital, could cost £30,000, twice as much as was thought at first.

The operation was carried out six weeks ago after an Australian farmer gave \$15,000 when Brooke's father was arrested for robbing a hamburger bar in Melbourne, to help to pay for the surgery. She is living in Harefield, Huntingdon, London with her mother, Mrs Deborah Matthews.

### Couple's Soviet holiday protest

A BRITISH couple are to protest to their MP about being thrown out of Russia during a package holiday to Leningrad after trying to visit a Jewish friend, Mr Stephen Myers, aged 36, and his wife, Yvonne, aged 27, of Sale, Greater Manchester, were prevented from seeing the friend and held for three hours for questioning.

Then they were taken to Leningrad airport and put on a plane to Helsinki. Mrs Myers said she would contact Mr Michael Carrivick, Conservative MP for Darlington.

### Palace silent on SS claim

BUCKINGHAM Palace refused to confirm or deny reports that an uncle of the Prince of Wales was a brigadier-general in Hitler's SS.

The Queen's press secretary, Mr Michael Shea, said: "I don't consider myself a spokesman for the Duke of Edinburgh's brother-in-law." The uncle, Prince Christopher of Hesse, is related to Prince Charles by his marriage to a sister of the Duke of Edinburgh.

### Two killed in police chase

TWO people were killed and four others were injured yesterday when a car crashed into a bus during a police chase through the streets of Brighton and Hove. The car's driver, whom police had asked to pull in, was in a Brighton hospital last night.

The dead were named as the taxi driver, Mr Peter Perrin, aged 26, of Portlaine, Sussex, and a passenger, 25-year-old Mrs Deborah Marchant, of Worchester Villas, Hove.

### MPs to discuss BR jobs axe

THREE Labour MPs are to visit the threatened British Railways engineering yard in Springburn, Glasgow, today to discuss plans to axe 1,200 jobs at the works.

The Shadow Scottish Secretary Mr Donald Dewar, Mr Michael Martin, MP for Springburn, and Mr Norman Hogg, deputy chief whip and MP for Cumberland and Kilmory, will meet the head of BR's engineering division and shop stewards.

### Stabbing victim

POLICE were trying yesterday to identify a woman who was stabbed to death by a sex attacker. Her body was dumped at the roadside at Perrin Lane on the outskirts of Frampton Cotterell, 15 miles from Bristol.

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## Tax evaders protest at the glare of publicity

By Joe Joyce

People included on a 34-page official list of tax evaders in the PAYE system have reacted with a mixture of innocence and indignation.

The list of more than 800 individuals and companies, published over the weekend, is the latest weapon in a policy of tougher action against tax evaders. It is a response to political pressure from employers over high tax levels and

their belief that everyone but those on the PAYE system is dodging.

Ironically the list includes numerous people on the PAYE system who were fined in 1984 for failing to make returns or ignoring additional income. But the majority fined for tax offences or who agreed settlements with the tax collectors were private citizens.

The list was headed by publicans, hoteliers, builders and

garage owners but it ranged democratically over most occupations. Two priests were among those named. Among the professions, solicitors were most numerous.

Predictably, the one politician identified was the person most widely asked to explain himself. Mr Bernard Durkan, a backbench member of the ruling Fine Gael party, said his £200 fine was a technical offence; he had mis-

laid a tax form for an employee.

The Vintners' Association defended the prominent showing of its members with an attack on the publicity. "It is a wide-spread belief, particularly among trade unions, that income tax rates—which can reach 62 per cent on incomes under £20,000 a year—could be cut significantly if all dodgers were pursued."

"I'm surprised they published my name when I paid up. I must be the only trader that's paying."

It remains to be seen if publication of names helps tax collectors. But there is a widespread belief, particularly among trade unions, that income tax rates—which can reach 62 per cent on incomes under £20,000 a year—could be cut significantly if all dodgers were pursued.



## Army's fight to keep troops out of court

From Paul Johnson in Belfast

THE army tried to win immunity from criminal prosecutions for soldiers serving in Northern Ireland during the mid-1970s, according to a book by a TV reporter, Desmond Hamill, which is published today.

The army was worried that fear of facing the criminal courts because of incidents on duty might stop soldiers acting aggressively in riots. It wanted the men court-martialled instead.

Between 1973 and 1975, the General Officer Commanding, Lieutenant-General Sir Frank King, approached successive attorney-generals, Sir Peter Rawlinson and Sir Sam Sikkin, arguing that a fresh approach to the prosecution of soldiers was necessary.

According to Mr Hamill, author of *Pig In The Middle*, Sir Frank wanted a dividing line to be drawn between "law-breakers and law-breakers." He argued on behalf of the army that the principle of law which entitled anybody to use force in self-defence was a civilian concept.

He told the attorney-generals that this produced a mentality of defence against an assailant rather than an attack on the enemy — something which was against all accepted military tactics and operational planning.

It was also pointed out that in previous campaigns in Aden, Borneo, Kenya and Malaya, states of emergency had been declared and court jurisdiction did not apply to the military. These arguments were rejected by both governments.

On December 14 last year, Private Ian Thain, aged 19, of the 1st Battalion, The Light Infantry, was sentenced to life imprisonment for the murder of a young Catholic during a riot in West Belfast.

He became the first British soldier serving in Northern Ireland to be found guilty of murder during the course of his duty.

*Pig In The Middle* — the story of the British Army in Northern Ireland — by Desmond Hamill, published by Methuen (price £12.95).

## £20m 'rash assault' on lake

Arab proposal to build leisure complex upsets Bowness residents. Report by Michael Morris

A £20 MILLION Arab investment for a leisure complex in the Lake District has put the developers and local people at loggerheads.

Residents claim that the proposed development at Bowness-on-Windermere, rising on seven levels to 80 feet, would dominate an otherwise rural and wooded scene at the lake's margin.

About 320 yards long, it would include a conference building, 264 apartments, parking for 1,211 cars, ice rink, swimming pool with wave pattern machine for surf-bathing, indoor bowling, squash courts, saunas, restaurant and bar.

Speaking before a meeting tomorrow of South Lakeland district council, which will consider the project, Mr Jack Jones, the architect, said: "It is going to lift the Lake District out of the late twentieth-century into the twenty-first-century."

The site, he adds, is in a hollow below the level of the A592 Bowness to Newby Bridge road.

But the proposal has aroused the anger of many in the region, including the Friends of the Lake District, who have put forward their own plans for playing up the 17-acre site in harmony with the setting.

The Friends' secretary, Mr Mike Houston, putting the case against the project, quoted Wordsworth's comment on the projected Kendal and Windermere railway (1844): "Is then no oak of English ground secure?"

From rash assault? He said the leisure development was not related to the enjoyment of the Lake District's natural qualities.

Residents who formed a group to protect the site strongly attacked the proposed development at a public meeting as exploitation of one of the most superb sites in the Lake District and contrary to National Park policy.

Mr John Trotter told the meeting that 2,000 visitors a day (adding 1,000 cars to traffic congestion) would be needed in the summer to make the project a paying proposition.

However, the Lake District special planning board needs to keep an open mind until it receives a planning application, said Mr Rex Baines, the chief planning officer.

Tomorrow's meeting of South Lakeland district council will consider a proposal which, if approved, would lead to a planning application before the district council and planning board.



The beauty of Bowness, which is said to be under threat

But the Arab Investments proposal to be considered by the district council has already been approved by its leisure and tourism committee and public works committee, though it was rejected by the Windermere parish council.

The Friends' plan to improve the visual quality of the site, which is owned by the district council, includes landscaping, new footpaths and a football pitch. There would be no additional buildings.

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## Boundary changes upset the party calculations

The result of the close-run battles to control Bedfordshire and Cambridgeshire councils may have been decided by the Boundary Commissioners.

In Bedfordshire the commissioners have taken away 10 seats, reducing the council from 35 to 25, while in Cambridgeshire they have increased the number of councillors from 38 to 47.

This could have the curious effect of restoring overall control to the Tories in Bedfordshire and taking it away from them in Cambridgeshire.

The effects can be seen most dramatically in Labour's big Bedfordshire stronghold, Luton. At present Labour hold 24 of the 29 seats in the town, but in this election only 24 seats remain. The parties agreed that the redrawn boundaries make the Tories almost certain to win at least four of these.

Labour would then have to make sweeping gains elsewhere to keep Bedfordshire a hung council, or a balanced council, as the Liberals prefer to call it.

In Cambridgeshire the commissioners have reversed the process. Labour and Liberal areas of Cambridge and Peterborough have been given extra seats, leaving the Conservatives the uphill task of winning four more seats in order to maintain their narrow overall majority.

Because the new boundaries have not only changed the number of seats but also reduced multi-councillor wards to one, most urban wards in both counties are now seen as marginal. Attempts to predict results based on past performance with the aid of computers have proved fruitless.

In Cambridgeshire, which has often produced an extraordinary 50 per cent turnout in local elections, voting patterns in local and general elections are entirely separate.

Labour and Liberals hope to



### THE LOCAL ELECTIONS

Paul Brown on the effect of redrawn seats in Bedfordshire and Cambridgeshire

do well in Cambridge, partly because of the traditional animosity of the city towards the county but also because of local opposition to new road schemes.

Mrs Emily Blatch, the Tory council leader in the Thetford constituency, said the election has come at a bad time for the party. Not only is the Government in mid-term but the party has run into trouble over school closures and the privatisation of local services.

Labour hope to ride this feeling to unseat Mr Stan Hardwick, the chairman of the county council traffic committee, who voted for the closure of two village schools in his own ward.

The Liberal vote may well hold the key in both counties. At present Liberals hold nine seats in Bedfordshire and 12 in Cambridgeshire and claim that they will increase this number in both.

But the Liberal Alliance vot-

ing pattern defies logic and analysis. In the north of the county, the Liberals are mentioned in the same breath as the Tories, while in the south the Liberal vote is often split between the party and the Conservatives.

In the south, the Tories have clung to the SDP, a party which has been in the field in county elections for the first time. In Bedfordshire the SDP won a single seat, while in Cambridgeshire it has won two.

The only surprise about the Tory vote is that it has not been as high as in the last election. In Bedfordshire the Tories won 12 seats, while in Cambridgeshire they won 10.

But the Tories have a long way to go to win a majority in both counties. In Bedfordshire they need to win 15 seats, while in Cambridgeshire they need to win 18.

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## Jobless 'feed on scraps'

Many poor people in Britain do not have enough money to eat a main meal every day, the Claims Poverty Action Group claims today.

The group's latest edition of the journal, *Poverty*, includes evidence that the unemployed are more likely than even pensioners to be short of money for basic food.

The journal finds that there has been no change in the tra-

dition of women depriving themselves for the sake of their husbands and children.

Unemployed men are found to be cutting back on their own food for the sake of their children and there is said to be evidence that single women bringing up children on social security eat better than their married counterparts who have husbands to feed.

Government figures published this month show that an

increasing number of children are entitled to free school dinners because of the poverty of their parents. There are now more than a million of these children — a third of those eating school dinners.

"It is therefore particularly scandalous that there is no national minimum nutritional standard for school meals (the old standard was abolished by the present Government in 1981)," says CPAG.

Women who did reach positions of responsibility should

## Baroness calls on women to stand as MPs

By Susan Tithart

The under-representation of women in Parliament is shameful, Baroness Young, Minister of State at the Foreign Office, told a conference in London.

She was addressing the 300 Group, formed in 1980, which aims to help elect at least 300 women to the House of Commons. There are at present 25 women MPs and 624 men.

Women who did reach positions of responsibility should

promote equal opportunities to give women the chance to come forward. "It is very important for women to help other women," she said.

In her first job as chairman of an education committee, she had insisted that the committee should interview women and men for school headships.

"One of the facts of life which depressed me is how few women heads of schools we have today."

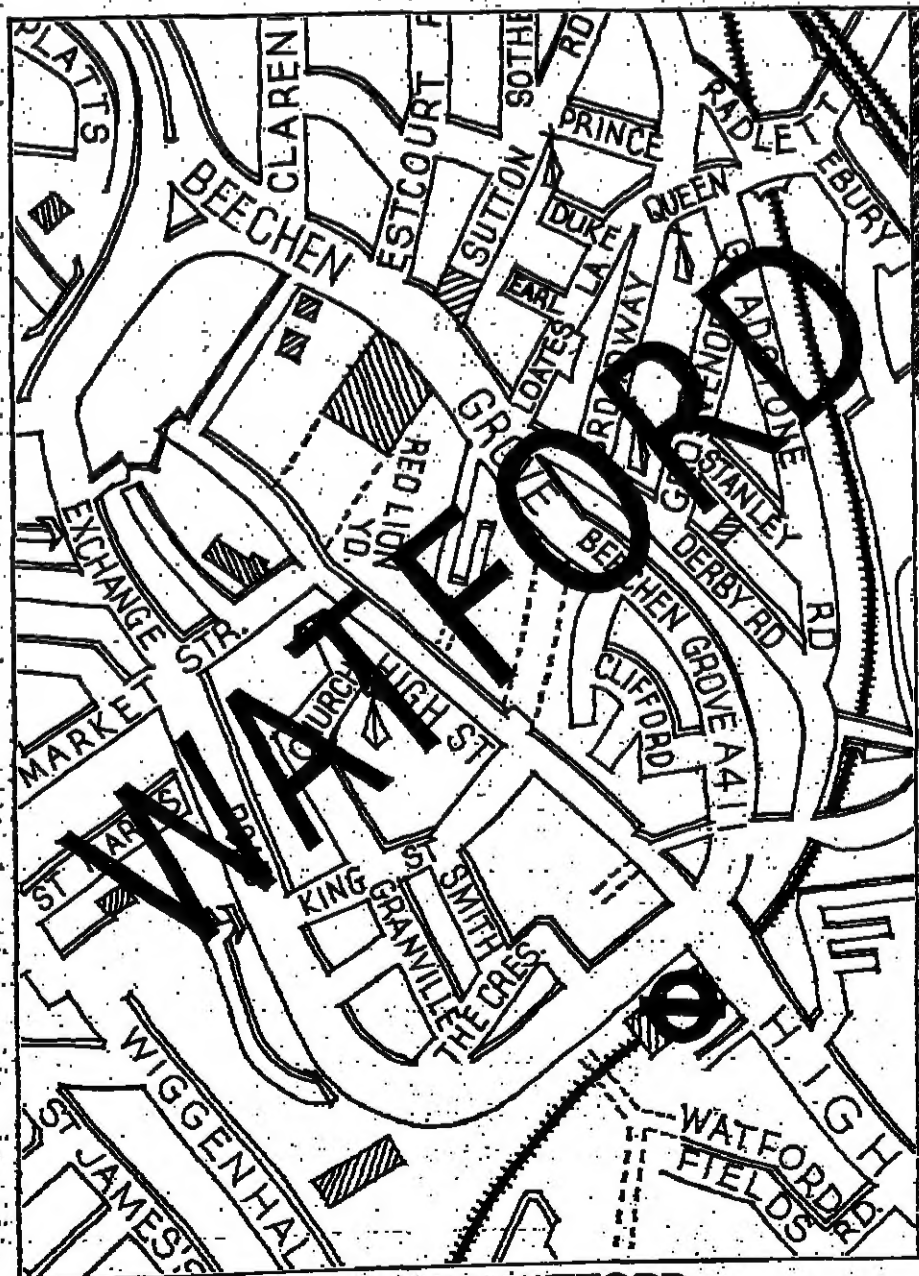
Unions should make sure that women have a greater say on their governing bodies, the chairman of the Northern TUC said yesterday.

Mr Tom Burlison, who is standing for the post of GMBATU general secretary after Mr David Bassess retires, added: "The trade union movement must emerge as the uncompromising champion of equality."

Right: Baroness Young — women's responsibility



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# Blueprint for sending Britain's jobless back to work

UNEMPLOYMENT in Britain is as high as in the early 1930s. On present policies it is unlikely to fall substantially for many years. This is a terrible waste of precious economic resources.

Unemployment was as low as in 1979 we would be producing £20 billion more output a year. Large-scale unemployment also creates deep personal misery among those affected, and it is a threat to our social and political stability.

Perhaps the strongest ground for hope is the fact that only five years ago we had under 6 per cent unemployment, compared with the 13 per cent unemployment rate we have now.

Fears that our troubles are inevitable are misplaced. The most common explanation is that high unemployment is due to machines replacing people, yet machines have been replacing people for centuries without unemployment increasing. In fact, the rate at which machines have replaced people (as reflected in the rate of productivity growth) has actually been slower in the past 10 years than in the full-employment 1950s and 1960s.

Unemployment is up not because productivity has grown fast but because output has grown slowly, and was little higher in 1984 than in 1979. Output has grown slowly because of low demand.

So what has caused the rise in unemployment from around 3 per cent in the late 1970s to 13 per cent today? Supply-side influences may have contributed to the rise. These may include a less virtuous social security system, more wage pressure in the labour market, and higher taxes on jobs (e.g. employers' national insurance contributions).

But the rise in unemployment since the late 1970s must mainly reflect low demand. This has been due to tight fiscal policy (high tax rates and constraints on public spending); the world recession (due largely to tight fiscal policies in so many countries); and, until recently, the high real exchange rate (especially relative to Europe), which made so much of our industry uncompetitive.

So what can be done? Three policy measures should be taken at once:

● A substantial rise in public infrastructure investment with an emphasis on labour-intensive projects.

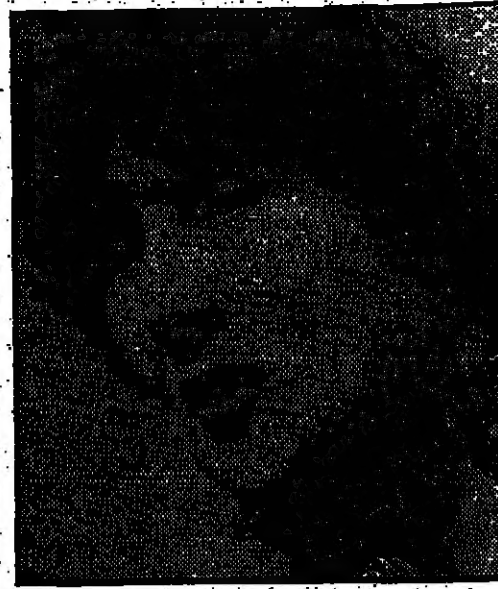
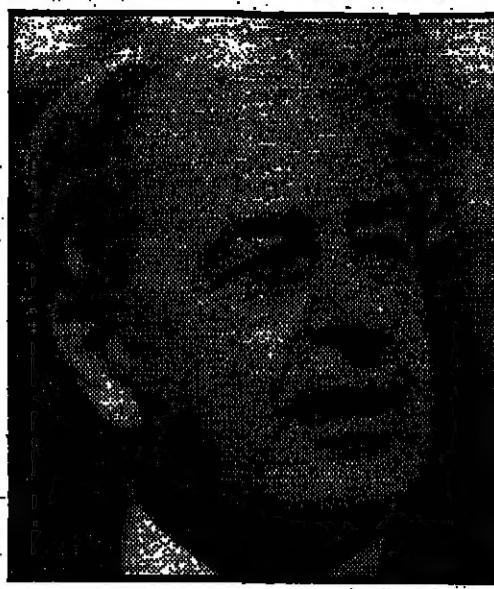
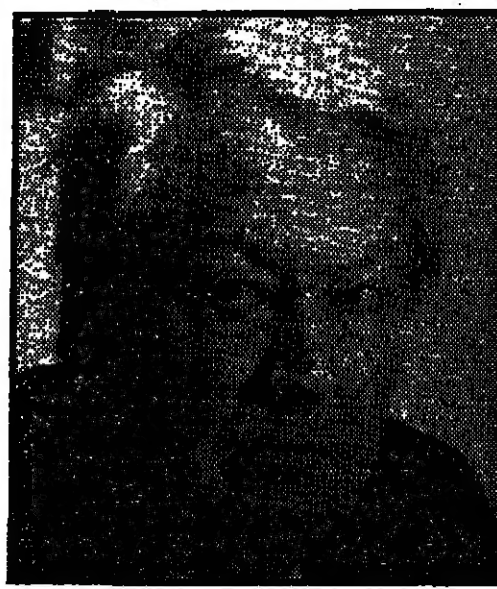
● A cut in employers' national insurance contributions, to reduce the cost of labour.

● A form of job guarantee for the 1.25 million long-term unemployed on projects.

This would involve an increase in the budget deficit. Such an increase is not a recipe for increased inflation, for the following reasons:

The cut in employers' national insurance contribu-

Today sees the launch by Charter for Jobs, the campaigning arm of the new all-party Employment Institute, of its first document, *We can cut unemployment. We publish here an edited version*



**JOBS CHARTISTS:** from left, Mr James Callaghan, the former Labour Prime Minister and a patron of the all-party Employment Institute; Mr Edward Heath, the former Conservative Prime Minister, also a patron; Lord Emswiler, former chairman of the National Coal Board, a member of the institute's council; and Mrs Shirley Williams, president of the Social Democratic Party, who is a trustee

tions would cut labour costs, and lead to lower prices.

When there is as much slack in the economy as there is now, extra demand will mainly affect output rather than prices.

Present policy is extremely deflationary. Less deflation is not the same as irresponsible inflation. It would be possible to expand the budget and still, over a run of years, keep the national debt stable relative to the national income. . . . A national deficit is in order if it leads to mass unemployment.

It need not lead to a fall in the exchange rate (and hence a boost to inflation) provided monetary policy is suitably cautious, with interest rates as high as necessary to protect sterling, and provided the new policy is well presented.

Some believe that quite large falls in unemployment could be achieved without extra inflation, and that an incomes and prices policy might be unnecessary. Others believe the inflation problem would emerge more rapidly.

But if it proves impossible to reduce unemployment below present levels without extra inflation, then we would all consider some comprehensive approach, including incomes and prices policy, to be better than doing nothing to reduce unemployment.

The first faulty diagnosis is that high unemployment has been caused by a sudden surge in the rate at which machines are used to replace human labour. The facts are that in the 1970s and 1980s output per worker-hour grew not faster but less fast than

in the preceding decades of full employment.

The problem in the 1970s and 1980s has been the slow growth of output, not the high growth of productivity.

The key question is: Why is output so low? One theory about output is that it is limited by saturation. This may be true of millionaires, but it is not true of the mass of the population. A quarter of the households in this country have net incomes below £20 a week and spend under £40 a year on holidays away from home.

A more plausible theory of output says it is limited by the availability of machines. But throughout the period of growing unemployment our

**'A jobless worker loses his skills and habits'**

machines have been less heavily used than ever before.

The cardinal sin in thinking about unemployment is to take output as given. We can have more output if we have less deflationary policies and higher output will mean more jobs.

Since output is not given, we need not worry about productivity growth. In fact, there is a deficit demand. On this basis the rise in unemployment since the 1980s

lower employment by increasing our ability to compete in world markets.

But even if productivity growth has been low, has it caused greater problems due to its greater unevenness? Or, more generally, are we suffering from unprecendented structural problems due to technical change, higher oil prices, foreign competition and the like?

Factors such as these have always caused problems and always will. If productivity growth is more rapid in one industry than elsewhere, and the demand for the industry's output does not rise sufficiently when its relative price falls, employment in that industry falls.

Even if technical change does not alter, the total employment in any industry it may transform its character, eliminating traditional craft and unskilled jobs and increasing employment for technically-qualified people. This causes transitional unemployment until people upgrade their skills.

Changes in the mix of employment are also generated by new products and by changes in the world prices of products and of inputs.

The problem of unemployment is closely related to the problem of inflation. A standard account runs as follows. There is a level of unemployment below which inflation will tend to increase and actual unemployment can be above or below this.

If it is below, there is excess demand, and inflation increases. If it is above, there is deficient demand. On this basis the rise in unemployment since the 1980s

can be broken into two parts: (a) a rise in the unemployment needed to stop inflation increasing and (b) a rise in demand-deficient unemployment.

Factors behind the first of these rises may include a less punitive social security system, more wage pressure in the labour market and higher taxes on jobs (employers' national insurance contributions). These factors have led to pressure for real wages which are high relative to the level of wages justified by underlying productivity and productivity has been held down by overmanning.

The resulting imbalance between desired real wages and productivity inevitably led, as it was accommodated, to increasing inflation. Then unemployment increased as part of the process of restraining real wages to stop inflation rising further.

The factors we have discussed so far are important but they do not account for anything like the whole of the increase in unemployment, especially since 1979. The rise since 1979 is largely due to an increase in demand-deficient unemployment, undertaken mainly in order to reduce inflation rather than to hold it constant.

The main factors behind this increase in demand-deficient unemployment are the budgetary cuts, the world recession and, until recently, the high real exchange rate.

There has been a major budgetary squeeze, mainly through a massive increase in tax rates. Taxes have risen from 40 per cent to 45

per cent of gross domestic product between 1979 and 1983.

This may seem paradoxical given the substantial budget deficit we are still running (some 3 per cent of gross national product). But to evaluate the overall effect of the budget on employment, one does not look at the crude budget deficit and say that a

high deficit indicates an expansionary policy. The deficit needs adjusting in two ways.

First, if there is a depression, low national income causes low tax receipts and thus a high deficit, even if policy is not expansionary. Second, if there is inflation, the real value of the government debt is constantly being eroded. This is a capital gain to the Government and this magnitude therefore needs to be subtracted from the actual deficit.

The first thing is to adopt less deflationary budgetary policies to reduce the demand-deficient component of our unemployment. Some people will answer that this is the old remedy, which has been tried and failed. They will say that it will not raise

output, but only prices; it will increase the national debt and the money supply; it will lead to a fall in the exchange rate; it will lead to wage pressure.

We have answers to all these arguments. Answer: it will not raise output, but only prices. Answer: what can be achieved by a change in fiscal policy depends crucially on the level of slack in the economy. If the economy is operating without much slack, extra demand will naturally affect prices rather than output.

Argument: it will increase the national debt and the money supply. Answer: this depends on whether the present budget is tight or not.

The present stance is highly deflationary. We are not repeating the old cry of "more inflation" rather we are saying "less deflation, please."

So would a budgetary refraction imply a growth in money supply or in the ratio of national debt to national income? A budget deficit need never imply a growth in the money supply. It is always possible to cover the deficit by borrowing outside the banking system. By far the greater part of the budget deficit is always covered in this way, which is why the year-to-year relation between the budget deficit and the growth of money is practically non-existent.

The question then arises of whether, if we cover the whole deficit by borrowing, this will lead to unacceptable increases in the national

debt and hence excessive interest rates (to make people willing to hold the debt).

We could certainly accept a small rise in the debt/income ratio if it resulted from a temporary demand stimulus applied in a recession, for one would expect the debt/income ratio to grow in such circumstances, both because of low tax receipts induced by the recession and because of counter-cyclical budgetary

If it proves impossible to reduce unemployment below present levels without inflation increasing we would all consider some comprehensive approach, including incomes and prices policy, to be better than doing nothing to reduce unemployment.

The success of a fiscal refraction depends also on its structure. Some forms of stimulus add at least £15,000 a year to the government deficit for every job they create. Hence a million jobs created might add more than £15 billion a year to the budget deficit, or something like 5 per cent of the national income.

Good policies seem to include: infrastructure investment, especially in the renovation of cities and the health of our people, and cuts in taxes on jobs.

There are 1.25 million citizens who have been out of work for over two years. Humanitarian arguments suggest that special efforts should be made to get these people back to work but there are also strong economic grounds for giving them priority.

If the extra demand for labour could be directed especially towards the long-term unemployed, there would be much less danger of it rekindling inflation than if it were spread over the whole labour force. The longer people are away from work the more they lose their former skills and habits of work.

At the same time, young people fail to get trained in the current recession has seen a collapse of apprenticeship. Equally important, mass bankruptcies destroy the structure of business.

These are the purely economic effects, but on top of these are the less measurable psychological and social effects.

## Inquest into fifth GCHQ death

By a Correspondent

AN inquest will be held tomorrow into the death of a worker with the Government Communications network who was found hanged at his home early this month.

The body of Mr Stephen Oake, a 35-year-old married man with children, was found hanging at his home in Bude, Cornwall on April 8.

Mr Oake was a traffic handler at GCHQ's Morgantow outstation near Bude. He was

responsible for monitoring intercepted communications. He is the fifth person connected with GCHQ to take his own life or die in unusual circumstances in the past three years.

Yesterday a spokesman at GCHQ in Cheltenham said his death was "totally unconnected with his work."

The North and East Cornwall coroner, Mr George Northey, who will conduct tomorrow's inquest at Bude police station, said last night: "I have been led to believe

that Mr Oake's death does not have a security aspect. It is mysterious inasmuch as he left no note."

In the past three years two workers connected with GCHQ have committed suicide, another died after a heavy drinking bout, and a fourth was killed when his glider crashed for no apparent reason. However, in all cases it was denied that their deaths had any connection with their security work.

## Blindness warning

By Penny Chertton

About 150,000 people may not realise that they have a preventable disease which is thought to cause one in every seven cases of blindness.

Dr Caroline Shreeve, a Welsh GP, says that glaucoma, which particularly affects the elderly and severely short-sighted, is frequently undiagnosed until an eye has suffered irreparable damage. It is caused by pressure on the eyeball.

There are 250,000 potential sufferers, 100,000 of whom have been identified, leaving a likely 150,000 with the disease, she writes in the latest edition of *Doctor*.

The National Glaucoma Association starts an action week today to try to alert the medical profession and public. Drivers are at particular risk if they can see as well as before when looking straight ahead. But have lost peripheral vision.

The association, which is urging people to demand eye-sight tests, says that many believe wrongly that loss of all-round vision is part of growing older and do not mention deterioration unless it is painful.

**Cottage blast**

A family of six had to be treated in hospital after a gas explosion destroyed a holiday cottage at Barrynabor, near Ilfracombe, North Devon.

The family, a couple and their four children, from Bristol, were taken to hospital in Barnstaple and treated for the effects of fumes and shock.



The school at Pulham St Mary — seen as possible target for closure

Picture by Alan Howard

## Wary villagers strike first to save school

PULHAM Fenmoyers school, which has been closed since the heart of a Norfolk village for five centuries, is fighting for survival in the face of a threat which officials say is "very real".

Villagers at Pulham St Mary, near Diss, believe that closure of their primary school will sooner or later be proposed by the county council. If they postpone their campaign, they argue, it will be too late.

They feel that many other rural schools have been lost because the effort to save them has come when damage has already been done by uncertainty.

"If knowledge circulates that a school is doomed, that sets up a self-fulfilling prophecy," said Dr Graham Fennell, a lecturer at the University of East Anglia,

who has two children at Pulham Fenmoyers school.

The people of Pulham St Mary have formed an action committee, chaired by Dr Fennell, which has produced a closely argued report setting out the case for improving and enlarging the school.

The place that Pulham Fenmoyers occupies dates, in part, from 1461.

The school buildings centre on the original chapel of the Guild of St James, raised by villagers so that Walter Colman, the Hermit of Pulham, might have somewhere to offer his daily prayers. It now serves as a main classroom.

It passed through the hands of Henry VIII, became a school in 1674 and gained endowment — and its name — from William Fenmoyer, a local landowner, whose

benevolence has continued for 300 years.

Governesses and parents became anxious when they approached Norfolk County Council to inquire about having suspended ceilings fitted in lofty classrooms. A letter from the architect's department sounded the alarm.

The application was refused, said Dr Fennell, on the grounds that "it appears that the school is to be closed."

The education authority also caused concern by considering a provisional plan for doubling the size of the school at neighbouring Pulham Market.

The villagers believed that it was a threat not only to the 72 pupils, aged from four to 11, and four teachers but also to the life of the village.

Rural communities died after losing their schools because they could not attract young people into the villages, said Mrs Gillian Artis, a parish councillor and member of the action committee.

The committee's report includes a computer-selected survey of village opinion (77 per cent in favour of retaining the school) and an architect's study of how it might be improved.

Norfolk County Council, now studying the document, insists that no decision has been taken to close or amalgamate the school.

"On the other hand, we are about to embark on a review of the development plan which we have for the county, which will undoubtedly involve looking at Pulham Fenmoyers," a spokesman said.



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## Prison inquiry

An inquiry was going on yesterday at the maximum security Gartree Prison, near Market Harborough, Leicestershire, after a recreation area sit-in protest by 25 inmates on Saturday.

The sit-in came after six prison officers had been hurt in a disturbance on Friday. A Home Office spokesman said trouble broke out while two prisoners were being taken to a punishment wing.

## Debate needed on future of farmland

By Alan Dunn

Countryside lovers were urged at the weekend to prepare for one of the most volatile periods in agricultural history, in which between one and two million acres of land could be removed from production in the next decade.

"We have to begin a debate on what the nation can do with that land," said Sir Derek Barber, chairman of the Countryside Commission, at the annual conference of national parks in Plymouth. The land would become available through the application of quo-

tas in the EEC's common agricultural policy, removing the need for some domestic production.

At the same time the national parks and countryside agencies had to be ready to absorb an anticipated boom in interest by young people.

The first generation to have been fully informed about the countryside, said Sir Derek.

Mr Adrian Phillips, the commission's director, said that 1985 was the most important year for the national parks. There was the possibility that amendments to the Wildlife

and Countryside Bill would help to protect woodland and planning against the loss of buildings; there had been a modest increase in aid to the parks; and the Common Market was for the first time to contribute agricultural aid to conservation.

The commission felt there was a need to "sell" the national parks to the public and will launch a national campaign in September.

The conference agreed to set up an annual workshop meeting in winter, to co-ordinate national park policy.

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## Berlin's Jews still live anxiously

From William Drozdiak in West Berlin

Outside the Jewish community centre here, where only the portal survived a Nazi rampage in 1938, the constant police vigil testifies to the unique anxieties that linger in the minds of German Jews who inhabit the legacy of their nightmare.

The events leading up to the fortieth anniversary of the Nazi surrender, including the surprise visit of President Reagan's plan to visit a German military cemetery, have stirred powerful emotions here, and prompted some Jewish leaders to speak out about what they see as uncomfortable trends in the German postwar generation.

Mr Reagan's planned visit to a cemetery that contains graves of SS troops also brought condemnation yesterday from Mr Gideon Hausner, prosecutor of Eichmann, but a leading West German politician accused US senators who criticised the visit of insulting German soldiers.

Today, there are 28,000 Jews living in West Germany, and perhaps 2,000 in East Germany. Now, some have discerned a desire among Germans to disengage themselves from the burdens of the past. "Too many Germans have been looking at May 8 as the day of capitulation of the collapse of their nation," said Mr Heinz Galsinski, an Auschwitz survivor and the leader of West Berlin's Jewish community. "We would prefer to see more talk about that day as the triumph of the anti-Nazi coalition and the birth of German democracy."

Such concerns have been exacerbated by the handling of President Reagan's itinerary for his stay in West Germany. He has added a visit to the Bitburg cemetery to his schedule. But the gesture has not appeared Jewish dismay at the handling of the trip by governments in Bonn and Washington. "It's become an awful embarrassing mess," said Mr Galsinski.

Even though West German Jews feel relatively secure in a country that has established an admirable record of peace, freedom, and prosperity, there is still apprehension about different forms of racism they see around them.

Among whom German left-wingers whose sympathies for the Palestinian cause are often expressed in anti-Israeli diatribes, German Jews find a chilling ignorance of past history. Such real or imagined threats have kept alive the "packed suitcase" syndrome even among German Jews born after the Holocaust—Washington Post.

## Gorbachev to overhaul management of party and economy

MR GORBACHEV this week embarked upon his first full plenum as leader of the Communist Party with two fundamental reforms already under way.

The first is an overhaul of party officials around the country, and an open invitation to communists and non-party members to criticise the party apparatus and to call them to account.

The second reform is an overhaul of the Soviet economic management system, which is looking increasingly as if Mr Gorbachev has established an inner cabinet for economic reform.

Earlier this month, Mr Gorbachev called in the top managers of the country's big

agro-industrial and factory complexes to meet in the central committee HQ. The meeting was dominated by the younger men of the Soviet hierarchy. Mr Grigory Romanov and Mr Vladimir Dolgikh of the Politburo, were there, and so were the two powerful young Central Committee secretaries who are closest to Mr Gorbachev, Mr Nikolai Ryukhov and Mr Yegor Ligachev.

The official communiqué of that meeting said only that they discussed urgent problems concerning the successful completion of the Five Year Plan, but subsequent meetings of the Council of Ministers and of the Politburo have referred back to the decisions taken at that meeting as if

they were the touchstone of the new economic policy. Reading between the lines of the official reports, it is plain that Mr Gorbachev told his economic summit that the problems of the Soviet economy would not be solved simply by exhorting the workers to drink less and to work harder. There was a failure of management to contend with. The top echelons were not in close enough touch with their subordinate factories. Problems were allowed to grow until they got out of hand. There were too many managers, and they were producing too little leadership. The case of the huge Kuzbass coalfield was cited, where the number of managers had increased by 500 when the out-

put of coal had declined sharply because of failures to deliver spare parts and failure to put new machinery to use on time. The message from this economic summit was carried to the Council of Ministers' regular meeting by Mr Ryukhov, and the ministers then agreed a statement which said that the blame for the poor performance of the economy during the harsh winter should be pinned firmly on management. "As a result of bad work organisation, and complacency in some cases, a decline of industrial output was allowed to take place in power stations, coal mining, oil, chemical, and the iron and steel industries," it read. This critique of Soviet eco-

nomic management relates directly to the second reform which Mr Gorbachev is evidently determined to push through—the overhaul of the party. In recent weeks, unprecedented publicity has been given in the national press to the meetings of regional party organisations. There has been public praise for those handful of regions where a policy of "open party government" is practised, where the party chiefs hold public meetings where they can be questioned by party members and non-members alike.

The latest issue of Izvestia's weekly magazine carries an editorial attacking party leaders "who surround themselves with personal cliques of yes men who never voice any criticism." Sovietkaya Rossiya carried a long editorial which concluded that "the best allies against waste, secretiveness, and arrogance in government are democratic public meetings to discuss the candidates for promotion in the party, and a dedicated policy of keeping the public informed."

An opinion poll in Rostov claims that every third Communist Party member is dissatisfied with the current levels of criticism in the party. The plenums in Ryazan, Orel, and Perm, and other regions, complained about a tendency to "boggling turn" in party promotions, and the need to make party officials take personal responsibility for their decisions. This overhaul — it would be

premature to call it a purge — is evidently clearing the way for Mr Gorbachev to make a clean sweep of the party apparatus, and bring in new officials who are more to his taste. The fact that the process has already begun, even before his first plenum, points to the degree of power he already wields. It remains to be seen whether the new generation of party chiefs will be able to work for Mr Gorbachev's able workload on himself. After the long parade of the daily parade of the Kremlin amounts to an impressive burst of hyper activity, and from the look of the man he is clearly reveling in it.

## Israel attacks Reagan visit to SS cemetery

## Kohl says Belsen is never-ending shame

From Anna Tomforde in Bergen Belsen

Chancellor Helmut Kohl spoke at this former concentration camp yesterday of Germany's "never-ending shame" while controversy continued over President Reagan's plans to visit a German cemetery containing the bodies of SS men.

In an apparent attempt to calm the furor that has erupted in America over the President's visit next month, Dr Kohl refrained from returning to his favourite theme, that the time had come to replace sombre remembrance by reconciliation.

Instead the Chancellor, who has often stressed that he was only 15 when the war ended and saw no action, said it was alive the memory of the full dimension of the Holocaust. "A people that escapes from its history gives itself up," he said.

Meanwhile, Israel's President Chaim Herzog, speaking on the BBC from Jerusalem, criticised the planned visit saying: "President Reagan is one of the best friends we have and we have the greatest admiration for him. We feel he has been ill-advised in visiting a cemetery in which the SS are buried."

On Israeli radio Mr Gideon Hausner, chief prosecutor at the trial of Adolf Eichmann, said that President Reagan's visit to the Bitburg cemetery would "desecrate the memory

for the Jewish victims of Nazism." In Washington some commentators were describing the controversy as President Reagan's worst blunder. Suggestions by White House sources that they had attempted to get the Bitburg ceremony cancelled — but had been told that Bonn felt committed to it and that a change would produce a political reaction in West Germany were denied by Government sources.

The West German chief government spokesman, Mr Peter Bönisch, said: "The truth is that advisers to President Reagan had tried to persuade him to find an alternative site to Bitburg but he would not be moved from his decision to go there."

President Reagan sent a special telegram to be read out at yesterday's Belsen commemoration in which he said: "The responsibilities we have to our fellow men are our first duty, measured against which all other aspirations are secondary."

Chancellor Kohl, speaking of Germany's historical responsibility for Nazi crimes, said: "The decision is why so many people remained silent, did not listen, closed their eyes to the realities when the despots solicited support for their inhuman programme. Among those who had come to hear Dr Kohl condemn the barbarism of the Nazis were survivors, many of whom

were transported or force-marched to Belsen from Auschwitz and Treblinka, died in Belsen during the last two years of the war. Earlier, some 50,000 Soviet prisoners of war had died in the camp and were buried in a separate cemetery by anti-fascist and socialist organisations.

The site of the concentration camp, now in the middle of a Nato exercise area, is covered with heather and birches, a sombre landscape punctuated by the endless graves, bearing stones with such inscriptions as "One thousand dead rest here, April 1945."

Belsen was liberated on April 15, 1945, by British forces who described what they found as "army of the living dead, ridden by disease, fear, and starvation."

One visitor said that Dr Kohl and President Reagan should consider before a truthful interpretation of history. One of the camp's survivors, Mrs Gina Turgal, a Polish Jew who met her husband-to-be who liberated the camp, said: "I feel very exhausted, strained, and emotional. I only hope that a future generation will never experience what I have."



Firemen throw inflatable barriers across the Orge river south of Paris to stop an eight-mile oil slick from flowing into the Seine. A pipeline burst at a pumping station caused the oil slick to develop 18 miles from the French capital.

## Europe to study role in space

From Derek Brown in Brussels

Some 14 foreign and defence ministers of the Western European Union gathered in Bonn today for talks likely to be dominated by a subject which does not appear on the formal agenda.

The subject is European participation in United States-led research of "star wars" research. Diplomats say it will feature strongly in the WEU talks, but no joint decision can be expected.

The WEU was relaunched last year to give Europe a coherent voice in defence strategy. But the organisation is still beset by doubts and pressures, from within and without, which have restricted that voice to a whisper since the time of the future.

The seven member countries — Britain, France, West Germany, Italy, the Netherlands, Belgium, and Luxembourg — last met at ministerial level in Rome last October. There they agreed to revive the moribund

30-year-old WEU as a distinctive European element firmly within the Nato alliance. Much of the impetus for the revival came from France which remains outside the military wing of Nato.

The Bonn meeting this week, diplomats stress, is primarily intended to review progress in reforms of the WEU structure, rather than a decision-making forum. Among the changes already in hand is the dismantling of redundant machinery for monitoring the West German arms industry — considered top priority.

In its place, the WEU is hoping to establish an influential defence "think tank" and encourage greater cooperation of redundant machinery for monitoring the West German arms industry — considered top priority.

This last subject is of crucial importance to European Nato countries, under constant US pressure to expand their contribution to the alliance, and a parallel pressure to support home industries with defence contracts. One of the WEU aims is to reduce

duplication of effort and nudge the Americans into buying more equipment from Europe.

The Bonn meeting, under the chairmanship of the German Foreign Minister, Mr Hans-Dietrich Genscher, is intended to further define European defence priorities. The agenda also lists East-West relations, and opportunities for more WEU cooperation.

These broadly-defined and closely-linked subjects will, according to diplomatic sources, produce a style for the way of radical new thinking, let alone dramatic political initiatives.

Indeed, German sources indicated at the end of last week that the final communiqué was already all but drafted.

on space technology, though not necessarily weapons. Since then, London, Bonn, and Rome have come out in support of participation in space research, but Paris has favoured a European programme, called Eureka, in which EEC states would cooperate research in advanced technology.

In Brussels, leaders of Nato's parliamentary assembly demanded improved protection after their headquarters were damaged in one of two terrorist bombs attacks at the weekend.

Bombs were also planted at offices of the West German electronics firm AEG-Telefunken. There were no injuries.

The attacks were the first in Belgium for three months. Earlier this year there was a spate of attacks on Nato installations by various communist groups. Yesterday's attacks at the weekend and call for unknown groups. Revolutionary Front for Proletarian Action.

## Star Wars testing plan denounced as a fraud

From Michael White in Washington

The first concrete evidence of the destabilising potential of the President's "Star Wars" programme has emerged with the Pentagon's publication of its formula for testing components of the system without breaching the 1972 Anti-Ballistic Missile treaty with Moscow. American arms control lobbyists promptly denounced it as a "total fraud."

The primary purpose of the Pentagon's statement appears to be political, in enabling Congress to vote for the Administration's request for a further \$3.7 billion for research without the worrying fear that it will inevitably lead to illegal testing. Clinging to the 1972 agreement, it is, in effect, giving notice that it will retaliate in kind while reserving the right to make outright breaches if necessary.

European political and military leaders have expressed concern about the destabilising potential of the space-based defence programme, most conspicuously Sir Geoffrey Howe, the Foreign Secretary. In sending its plan to Congress last week, the Pentagon is evidently willing to risk renewed controversy in pursuit of its strategic goals.

There was some evidence yesterday that elements in the

State Department are unhappy with this approach, but those outside the Administration did not hesitate to denounce it as "creative lawyering." Anti-Star Wars scientists who claim the research alone will cost \$100 billion said the administration should be trying to halt erosion of the treaty not further it.

Mr Paul Warnke, director of the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency under former President Carter, said the approach was a "total fraud." "We are going to sit down and say: 'We want to test an ABM system but we are not going to test it as an ABM system,' the entire thing is a fraud," he said.

President Reagan's exploitation of ambiguities in the 1972 treaty in a way which gave "enormous potential for breakout," he said.

Hawks inside the Government and elsewhere in Washington have long argued that the legalistic approach to a technological test of the treaty is essentially irrelevant and that by dropping its earlier demands for a ban on anti-satellite weapons, the Soviet Union itself is signalling a recognition that the next few years the ABM treaty will have to be renegotiated.

Mr Reagan has for months been sowing public opinion in apparent readiness for the Geneva arms talks by attacking

as a major breach of the ABM deal the building of a huge radar installation at Krasnoyarsk in central Siberia, one breach of many by the Russians. Now the Pentagon is saying that it is absorbed in compliance too. While reserving the right to make its own abrogations, it is, meanwhile, exploring the grey areas — where congressional sensitivities eventually lie in mind.

Thus the test-launching of a non-nuclear prototype in space would not be against an anti satellite interceptor. Similarly, all cases in Argentina. All nine officers held positions in the regime and face charges including homicide, kidnapping and torture. They are on trial for overseeing the "dirty war," a campaign of state terror in which thousands of people disappeared after the armed forces seized power in 1976.

The former presidents are General Jorge Videla, who led the coup, his successor, General Roberto Viola, who briefly took over until he was toppled in a palace coup by General Leopoldo Galtieri. In 1981, four months before the regime occupied the Falkland Islands.

Of the nine, who made up the first three military juntas to rule Argentina after the coup, only five are actually being held on human rights charges. General Videla and his coup

## Argentine officers trial goes public

From Jeremy Morgan in Buenos Aires

Three former military presidents moved into uncharted territory today as the trial of senior officers for human rights crimes comes under the public gaze for the first time. The trial was ordered by President Alfonsín only three days after his election. Government took over from the military regime in December, 1983. But until now, the trial has been conducted in secret, surrounded by suspicion and speculation. It is officially all court cases in Argentina.

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Of the nine, who made up the first three military juntas to rule Argentina after the coup, only five are actually being held on human rights charges. General Videla and his coup

partners, the former navy commander, Admiral Emilio Massera, and Brigadier Orlando Agosti, who led the air force, are being held with General Viola and one member of his three-man junta, Admiral Armando Lambruschini.

General Galtieri is being held in the reputedly more agreeable surroundings of the Magdalena military base outside the capital. He is held in the Falklands court-martial along with two other officers also facing proceedings, Admiral Jorge Anaya of the Navy and Brigadier Basilio Lami Dozo of the air force.

The ruling by earlier courts that there was insufficient cause to hold four of the accused in that trial, and the decision to open those proceedings, have only added to the controversy surrounding the first test of President Alfonsín's pledge to restore Argentina to the rule of law.

The trial is taking place amid a clamour of demands for an honest, absorbing most of all of the hundreds of military officers who are suspected of carrying out the regime's repression.

The former head of the armed forces, General Jorge Argüendegui, who was sacked in President Alfonsín's first military crisis 10 months ago, has accused the government of staging a political trial.

## Dirty war ordeals to be recalled

From William Montalbano in Buenos Aires

AS they beat Norberto Liwsky with clubs and convulsed his body with electric shocks, his torturers would also say: "You do not exist. You are dirt. You do not exist," he recalled.

Mr Liwsky, a physician, is a survivor of Argentina's "dirty war," the epidemic of state terrorism from 1976 to 1980 that a presidential investigating commission has called "the greatest and most savage tragedy in our history."

Mr Liwsky is seeking justice through law in an attempt to come to terms with his tortured past. It is a gamble by President Raúl Alfonsín.

With about 2,000 survivors such as Mr Liwsky on the witness list for the prosecution, the trial opens here today at the trial of six fellow officers who commanded three military juntas between 1976 and 1983.

The Federal Prosecutor, Mr Julio Strassera, reflects the general's assertion that the struggle against communist guerrillas was a war and that excesses occur in all wars.

They want to make us believe that there are good beliefs and bad deaths; that is, to avoid the bombing, killing, and kidnapping carried out by subversives, they bombed, killed, and kidnapped tens of thousands of people, the prosecutor said.

What is clear is that if the current group of generals, men who face the charges, believe that the survival of their institution is jeopardised, they will rebel.

With their right-wing political allies, many in the army forces believe that the human rights debate is a circus certain to humiliate the institution they feel bravely rescued Argentina from Marxist chaos.

One retired army commander scornfully dismissed the trial of the junta leaders as a "Nuremberg against the victors," a reference to the Nazi war crimes tribunal convened in late 1945. — Los Angeles Times.

## NEWS IN BRIEF

### British youths killed

THE battered bodies of two British teenagers were found yesterday on a hillside in Hong Kong, police said. Eighteen year old Nicola Myers was found naked with massive head injuries. Beside her, concealed under a bush, was 17 year old Kenneth McBride, badly beaten and tied up with clothing. The two friends were reported missing by their parents, who searched a hillside where they often went together to study.

### Home to Ghana

THE first of some 700,000 illegal aliens being expelled from Niger have sailed home to Ghana aboard a Nigerian oil tanker. Accra radio reported yesterday. It said a group of 130 Ghanaians arrived home on Saturday. — AP.

### Poll ruling

UGANDAN political parties wishing to contest general elections this year must have a national membership of at least 1,000. President Obote said at the weekend. A bill before parliament next week will make it compulsory for the parties to be active in at least 51 of the 126 constituencies. — Reuters.

### Needled

FOUR prisoners at Laredo in Spain have sewn their mouths shut with needles and thread in protest against goad conditions, others are refusing to eat. They complained of bad food, poor sanitary conditions, inadequate medical attention, and delays in judicial proceedings. — Reuters.

### Nato poll

THE Spanish Prime Minister, Mr Felipe Gonzalez, said at the weekend that the promised referendum whether the country should remain in Nato would be held in March, 1986, writes Jane Walker. But some sources suggest that he could change his mind and call a snap general election next November, 11 months early, to avoid consulting the electorate on the controversial Nato issue.

### Doing his bit

A poll published in Madrid yesterday showed that an overwhelming majority of Spaniards are opposed to membership of Nato.

### Leader killed

A PROMINENT Afghan rebel leader, who commanded guerrillas from a mountain base near Kabul, has been killed by pro-Government forces, his party announced yesterday in Pakistan. He is Maulvi, a spokesman of the Harakat-i-Inquilabi Islami party. — Reuters.

### Eating again

A CONVICTED British triple killer has ended a hunger strike after 54 days. Alan Reeve, aged 35, was said to have taken food again yesterday after receiving a written assurance from the Dutch Justice Ministry that he will be moved to a less secure home of Scheveningen prison near The Hague at the end of August. The Minister denied that any guarantee had been given. — Reuters.

### No spitting

PEKING will set up street displays of sputum under microscopes to back up a new campaign against spitting. The city council said yesterday. People who spit in public face fines and a public reprimand. It will be made to clean it up. — Reuters.

## US education aide resigns over 'handicap' jibe

From Michael White in Washington

In one of the most accident-prone weeks of his Administration, President Reagan's least publicised but most bizarre misfortune concerned not Nicaragua, the Nazi Holocaust, or even the faltering economy.

It was the appointment to a middle-ranking post in the Education Department of a woman who believes that physical or mental handicap is a reflection of the individual's "internal spiritual development."

Ms Ellen Marie Gardner did not last long at the post. Her special assistant at the Office of Educational Philosophy and Practice once Congressmen got to hear of the

views are published last year in an article for the fashionably Reaganite think tank, the Heritage Foundation.

She resigned on Thursday as did another new appointee, Mr Lawrence Uzzell, who had called for the ending of all Federal Government aid to primary and secondary education—something his department is there to provide until the Reagan right succeeds in dismantling the entire department.

Ms Gardner's stance was initially defended as representing "a fundamental doctrine of Christian existentialism" by the Education Secretary, Mr William Bennett, who described her position as Calvinistic. But Mr Bennett, who has himself been controversial

since arriving in office in January, later realised that he was on a loser and called the views "repugnant."

Ms Gardner's views were apparently known to the Washington handicapped lobby though not to Mr Bennett, nor to a Republican Senator, Mr Lowell Weicker, of Connecticut, who has a son with Down's syndrome, and threatened to block her salary. But any exchanges on Capitol Hill, Ms Gardner told him that her "deeply-held personal religious views" would not affect her public duties.

What the Harvard-educated Ms Gardner had suggested that handicapped people "falsely assume that the lottery of life has penalised them at random."

this is not so. Nothing comes at an individual that he has not earned in his development."

"When he blames his problems on external sources and thereby separates himself from a situation he has created he is prevented from taking hold of himself and changing that part of himself which causes his difficulty. He becomes an ineffective malcontent who cannot evolve because he is separated from his source of change."

Disabling lobbyists were quick to dub this sort of talk "the hypercremity of hyper Calvinism" in its implicit assumption of a predestination more candidly expressed by the apostles of the golden age of unbridled American capitalism.

Ms Gardner had complained that the handicapped "selfishly drained resources from the normal school population" and displayed "a strange lack of concern for the welfare of the general population." The Administration is seeking to cut the education budget.

Meanwhile, the US is busy making considerable efforts to integrate the handicapped. Mr Uzzell's quite separate offence concerned similar hostages to fortune about government money going to radical feminists who teach that the effect of their regulations upon the welfare of the general population. The Administration is seeking to cut the education budget.

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**Swareddahab appeals for large increase in grain supply**

## Sudan fears million children will starve

From our own Correspondent in Khartoum

Sudan's military ruler, General Swareddahab, has appealed to the world community for an extra 430,000 metric tons of grain — a substantial increase over the amount pledged by donors a month ago.

The general, who took charge of the country's High Commission for Drought and Desertification immediately after the coup which overthrew President Numeiri, told a meeting of the diplomatic corps and international aid agencies at the weekend that the 29,000 tons promised at the international conference in Geneva were not enough to "avert major hardship and starvation in the latter half of this year."

Not counting the thousands of Ethiopian and Chadian refugees, the general said that 10 million Sudanese, roughly a quarter of the population, are now in danger of starvation.

"A population of over a million out of six million infants and children face starvation and subsequent demise," he said.

The general also said that Sudan would continue the previous Government's policy of granting asylum to refugees. His firm comments on the drought crisis were in strong contrast to Mr Numeiri's refusal even to admit there was a problem until late last year.

General Swareddahab also seems to want to leave some of the most contentious policy issues until later. The transitional military council last week abolished the 1983 decree which divided the south into three regions.

At the same time, the council said that the three regions

would remain as they are for the next year under military administration, while a national conference of southern and northern politicians worked out a new formula for administering the south.

General Swareddahab's aim seems to be to show willingness to undo Mr Numeiri's most contentious decisions, while leaving it to civilians to work out alternatives. He has opened indirect contacts through intermediaries in Addis Ababa and Nairobi, with John Garang, the leader of the Sudan People's Liberation Army, which is conducting a civil war in the south. But Mr Garang is asking a high price for ending the war.

He is supported by Ethiopia and, according to reliable reports, is asking for a reduction in Sudan's policy of giving sanctuary to the Eritrean fighters fighting for independence from Ethiopia.

On the question of Islamic law, General Swareddahab has been vague. He told a press conference last week that the laws would remain in principle, because "a majority of citizens prefer them," but certain revisions would have to be made. This left the issue completely obscure, and in the meantime the laws banning alcohol, which Mr Numeiri brought in in 1983, remain in force.

In this stage, it seems that the general genuinely wants to be a caretaker. He has said that the army intervened against Mr Numeiri when it was clear that if he had tried to return to the country popular anger would have led to bloodshed. He has said that the army must stay out of ideological debates. If the army ceased to be an unpolitical national institution, "Sudan will be another Beirut," as he put it last week.

## Worse to come as refugee death rate rises

THE "home visitor" held aside the flap of the olive green army tent given by Pakistan and we stepped in. On a piece of grass matting a child of about six months lay motionless.

Four feet away the baby's mother was watching feebly as the child's skeletal ribcage barely moved as it breathed. Had she been giving him water, Kimberley Rose, an English nurse from the Save the Children Fund, asked through the home visitor who interpreted for her.

The child had diarrhoea and she had stood over him, the reply. Had she taken him to the feeding centre? No, she was weak herself and felt pains in her legs when she stood up.

The nurse examined the mother's gums, which were bleeding and raw, and pronounced it a classic case of scurvy, which was rampant in the camp. The child was in the late stages of dehydration, but could almost certainly be saved.

She persuaded the mother to let the baby's older sister dress the baby and take it to the clinic.

Safawa is one of the "best" camps in the Sudan. Two months ago this site did not exist, but it has since become a haven for Ethiopian refugees. It is big enough to have acquired a certain normality.

Children play football with an empty plastic bottle, or

come up smiling to shake hands and say Salaam to any visitor. Women sit outside the tents as evening falls, making thin pancakes of flour over charcoal fire. Food supplies are reaching the camp in reasonable measure so that the average consumption per adult is up to an acceptable 2,500 calories a day.

The food problem is the quality of the diet, Dr Annet Gamell said. A shortage of vegetables is causing the scurvy. Urgent requests for supplies of vitamin C have been delayed because manufacturers in Britain were not used to making the tablets in such large batches and Khartoum airport was closed for nine days by the anti-Numeiri coup.

Safawa has seven large feeding centres. On strips of plastic under a simple roof of plastic grass up to 1,900 children sit as mothers, sisters, brothers, and in some cases fathers, coax them to drink "high energy milk" from red cups.

Made of dried skimmed milk, oil, and sugar, the milk is for any child who is less than 80 per cent of its correct weight in proportion to its height. In a separate part of

each centre children below 70 per cent weight for height get extra supervision. The nursing staff try to encourage all-day attendance at the centres by giving biscuits and T-shirts to older brothers and sisters who stay with the under-fives while parents are cooking or fetching water.

Last week when Kimberley Rose held her morning meeting with them, 36 of the 55 home visitors announced that they were going back to Tigre. With rains due in the drought-ridden Central Highlands of Tigre in June, they want to go

back to start ploughing and planting.

All over the camp, health workers report seeing vigorous arguments raging as refugees discuss whether to go home. They have all come to the Sudan in the past four months, often walking for as much as six weeks on a long march organised by the Tigre People's Liberation Front, and its civilian arm, the Relief Society of Tigre (REST).

The sudden urge to leave Sudan has caught REST unprepared, and health workers wonder how the estimated 100,000 Tigreans who are still moving slowly westwards will

feel when they meet others coming in the opposite direction. An entire village of 1,600 people left the main Tigrean camp at Wad Kowli 10 days ago, determined to start planting and disappointed with conditions in Sudan.

Their disillusion is understandable since Wad Kowli, by comparison with Safawa, is grim indeed. Its one advantage is a pleasant grove of trees along the banks of the Atbara river which provides some shade in the above 100 degrees F temperatures.

Doctors at Wad Kowli report that the death rate there is double the one at Safawa. The grave watchers who sit day and night to count the impromptu funeral services, in the only reliable way of keeping statistics, report an average of between 40 and 50 deaths every 24 hours. About half are children of five and under.

Doctors also report that the people arriving at the camp are weaker and more ill than ever. The highest mortality is among those who have been at Wad Kowli less than three weeks. Despite all the efforts of its staff and the foreign donations Wad Kowli is already a disaster. The first rains will make it worse.

The soil, known as black cotton because of its sticky, dry weather, will become thick mud and make roads to the camp virtually impassable. A total of 84,000 people live at Wad Kowli without proper

sanitation, and in the rain the ground will become a quagmire of faeces and mud in which the danger of disease will be enormous.

The Sudanese Commission of Refugees as well as the voluntary agencies have been aiming to close Wad Kowli almost since the first day.

Safawa was opened to take some of the Tigreans, and in the next few weeks lorries are expected to transport several thousand more refugees to new camps being set up near a large lake at Khishm el Girba. But the water pumps are not yet ready and, with the pressure of new arrivals every day, no one seriously expects that Wad Kowli can be evacuated this year.

Reports of a shell hit a Palestinian refugee camp at the eastern edge of Sidon yesterday after heavy overnight fighting between Muslim and Christian militias, security sources said.

They said that at least 10 shells landed on Miyeh Michel and a refugee camp there, but there were no immediate reports of casualties.

The sources said 10 people were wounded during three hours of heavy shelling between the Christian Lebanese Forces militia and Muslim fighters backed by the army, who have clashed almost daily around this southern port since March 18.

Shells landed in residential areas of Sidon, on the Miyeh Michel and Ain al-Hiwayi Palestinian camps and on nearby villages, starting several fires. Meanwhile, Syria has invited Lebanese Muslim leaders for talks in Damascus to try to heal a split caused by an inter-Muslim street battle in West Beirut last week. Lebanon's caretaker Prime Minister, Mr Rashid Karameh, said yesterday.

Druse, Shi'ite and Sunni Muslim religious and political leaders have been invited to the meeting on Tuesday, he said.

Fighting between brothers is unacceptable. We call for a correction of the sad situation which exists at a high price from national unity," Mr Karameh said.

Heavy fighting killed two people and wounded 11 in Sidon on Saturday as leaders of the south Lebanese port city asked senior Syrian officials to help to end a month of sectarian strife.

Christian militia in eastern hill suburbs traded machinegun and shellfire with troops and Muslim fighters after a 13-hour lull and two soldiers were among the wounded, security sources said.

Houses and cars were ablaze after army positions near the city centre came under fire from Christians in a suburb called Abra and from Kfar Falous, six miles to the east, where an Israeli-backed militia has a base.

In Beirut, Lebanon's Sunni Muslim religious and political leaders on Saturday denounced fierce inter-Muslim fighting and said they were anxious to restore Muslim unity.

Mr Karameh, himself a Sunni who resigned in disgust after the street battles, told a meeting of Sunni leaders that Syria had pledged to take steps "to ensure the safety and security of Beirut and dignity of its people."

A statement issued after the meeting said that Mr Karameh had told President Hafez al-Assad of Syria and vice-President Abdel-Halim Khaddam of "practices and acts which would not be tolerated" during two days of talks in Damascus.—Reuters.

## Tamils clash with Muslims in new Sri Lanka fighting

From our own Correspondent in New Delhi

Sectarian violence broke out again yesterday between the Tamil and Muslim minorities in eastern Sri Lanka, where at least 50 people have been killed in the past 10 days.

The Home Minister, Mr Bill Marasinghe, said that fighting had been renewed and many houses had been set on fire. The Muslim Foreign Minister, Mr A. C. S. Hameed, estimated that 700 houses and shops had been destroyed since the trouble began.

Two other ministers, one Muslim and one Tamil, put the figure as high as 1,600 buildings wrecked. The Regional Development Minister, Mr Chelliah Rajadurai, and the Deputy Prime Minister, Mr Abdul Majeed, said in a joint statement that reconstruction would cost at least \$5 million. The two ministers, who represent constituencies in the eastern province, appealed for peace between the two communities. The clashes began after three Muslims, criticised as being police informers, were

shot dead in a mosque in the north-west coastal town of Mannar. The Muslims are Tamilspeaking but do not support the Tamil campaign for a separate state. They complain that they have been harassed by Tamil extremists.

Local officials and members of the public charged troops and police with encouragement, and even participating in, the Muslim backlash. This was denied yesterday by the National Security Minister, Mr Lalith Athulthumudali, who blamed the trouble on Tamil "terrorists" from the north who were trying to force their views on the Muslims.

It is not disputed that most of the victims have been Tamils. Government propagandists have been quick to exploit the division between the island's two biggest minorities. Tamil militants suspecting a government plan to divide the island out of the Sinhalese majority in the eastern province and to bring many Tamils as possible to leave.

## Kanaks in ultimatum to France

Paris: New Caledonia's separatist leader, Mr Jean-Marie Tjibou, said yesterday he would accept nothing but independence for the troubled French South Pacific territory.

Mr Tjibou, who heads the Kanak Socialist National Liberation Front (FNLS), was speaking after a march through Paris by about 5,000 supporters of independence. The French Government is properly aware of the fact that it cannot propose anything other than a process leading our country to independence.

The demonstration came a few days before President Mitterrand announces final plans for self-determination for the territory, which has been shaken by violence between Kanak separatists and pro-French settlers.

In Noumea, Kanaks and white settlers held separate demonstrations under heavy police protection.

About 2,000 Kanaks massed on Noumea's main square under the FNLS banner while some 3,000 whites and Kanaks marched near by in opposition to an end to 130 years of French rule.

The anti-independence marchers denounced the FNLS as a "band of revolutionary marauders" bent on destroying law and order.

Violence between militant Kanaks and white settlers in the past few months has crippled the island's economy and left more than 20 people dead.—Reuters.

## Philippine blaze kills 44

LEGASPI, Philippines: At least 44 people were killed and more than 50 injured yesterday when a fire set off by an explosion swept through a cinema.

Police said that the fire at the 20-metre high Legaspi Cinema, spread quickly through the cinema on the second floor of a shopping arcade.

"People jumped out of the windows and some were trampled upon by others, fighting to get out," said police Colonel Cesar Averilla. Only two died of burns.

More than 22 people had been admitted to four hospitals and others allowed to leave after receiving first aid.

Some 300 people were in the Cinema-3 when the fire broke out and at least six children under 10 were among the dead. The Philippine News Agency said most people died near the exits and on the staircase of the cinema.

Col. Maximino Hebrin, the chief of police in Legaspi, said initial investigations showed the fire was triggered by an explosion caused by faulty electrical wiring below the neighbouring Cinema 1 screen.

Asked if there was a possibility the explosion was a bomb, he said: "I don't know so."—Reuters.

## Indonesia warms to China

Bandung, Indonesia: Relations between China and Indonesia, frozen for 18 years, may thaw this week.

Western diplomats say the presence of the Chinese Foreign Minister, Mr Wu Xueqian, is a step toward resuming normal links.

Mr Wu is to attend a ceremony on Wednesday marking the anniversary of the Asian-African conference that helped form the Nonaligned Movement. He was invited because China was one of 29 countries at the original Bandung conference.

Diplomatic ties were suspended — but not broken — in 1967 after Jakarta accused Peking of backing an attempted coup by the Indonesian Communist Party two years earlier.

"Under the right conditions, over time, I think normalisation will come," said the Foreign Minister, Mr Mochtar Kusumaatmadja.

The State Secretary, Mr Sudharmono quoted President Suharto as saying there would be no change "before there is a statement from China, not only from the Government, but also from the Chinese Communist Party, that they will support Communist movements in this region."

Before leaving Bandung, Mr Wu said normalising relations would be in the interests of both peoples and conducive to stability in Asia.

There are also plans to establish direct trade links. Indirect trade has grown in recent years, usually through Hong Kong and Singapore, and was worth more than \$200 million in 1984.

A policy decision to eliminate the middlemen was made in Jakarta last year. As soon as the Bandung commemoration is over, the first trade mission is scheduled to leave for China to negotiate direct deals, said the Chamber of Commerce and Industry.—AP.

over their camps at Wallatana cattle station, about 105 miles north-east of the Emu testing ground, bringing illness and death.

"It came from afar and was brought up on a light wind," an Aboriginal called Kukika told the commission.

"The smoke was across the sky as it came up and it eventually came over the people in the camps at about tree level. The smoke was a dark colour as it came up and was over us," he said.

Andy Tjanjari said they did not know what the cloud was and people were frightened.

From Susan Morgan in Marla, South Australia  
The Royal Commission into the British nuclear tests reconvened at the weekend in an outbreak town to hear evidence from Aboriginals said to have been victims of the fall-out.

Setting watching aside, the commission on Saturday sat in the garage of the police station of Marla, a tiny dust-covered town in the centre of Australia.

## Nonaligned states to boost Namibia fight

From Eric Silver in New Delhi

Representatives of more than 80 nonaligned states resolved last night to step up their assistance to the South-west Africa People's Organisation in its struggle for the independence of Namibia.

The foreign ministers concluded a three-day meeting in New Delhi by reiterating their call for an emergency session of the UN Security Council to resist South Africa's plan to set up a puppet government in the mandated territory.

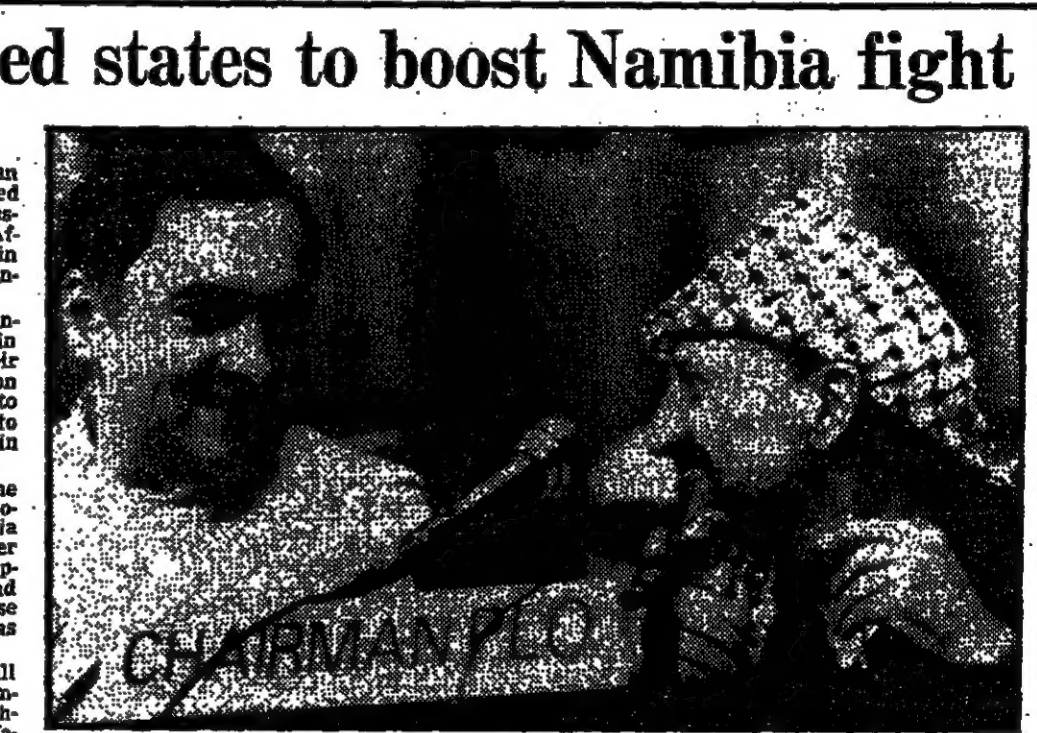
A 17-point action programme adopted by the Nonaligned Coordinating Bureau on Namibia urged member states and other countries to increase their diplomatic, political, material, and military aid to SWAPO, whose leader, Mr Sam Nujoma, was the hero of the conference.

The ministers called on all countries to impose an oil embargo on South Africa, to withhold overnight and landing facilities to its aircraft, and to block rights to its ships, and to ban all sporting contact.

The conference, the first by the nonaligned movement since the death of Mrs Gandhi, finally established her son and successor, Mr Rajiv Gandhi, as chairman for the remainder of India's two-year presidency.

As a veteran delegate observed: "We have demonstrated that the show is still on the road."

The conference declaration noted with concern vetoes exercised by Western states, which, it said, had prevented



The Indian Prime Minister, Mr Gandhi (left), and Mr Arafat, the PLO chairman, at the New Delhi meeting of nonaligned states.

the Security Council from taking effective measures against Pretoria. Condemning South Africa's plan to set up an interim government in Namibia, the declaration also condemned what it said was the illegal exploitation of Namibian resources by foreign interests, and urged the UN Council on Namibia to start legal proceedings against offending parties.

"It calls upon the governments of the United States and members of the European Economic Community to review and rescind the market facilities granted through so-called Free Trade Agreements with Israel, as such facilities help the marketing of South African products," the document said.

The committee deplores the continuing collaboration of certain Western countries and Israel with the racist regime of South Africa in the political, economic, military, and nuclear fields.

Police fire kills 15 Bihar tribesmen

New Delhi: At least 15 people were killed when police in the eastern Indian state of Bihar opened fire on a crowd of 10,000 tribesmen who had set fire to houses of non-tribesmen, the Press Trust of India said yesterday.

Police opened fire after using 30 rounds of tear gas and baton charges to try to disperse a crowd armed with bows and arrows and other weapons. At least six police-men were injured in the clashes, which broke out on Friday, it said.

Officials said police went to Banjhi village after reports that tribesmen had set fire to the houses of non-tribesmen burnt down a post office, and set up roadblocks round the village.

Tribesmen, the indigenous inhabitants of India, are considered an underprivileged group in the Constitution, which reserves for them a quota of government jobs and university places.

Meanwhile, at least six people were injured in army firing and thousands arrested yesterday in the western Indian state of Gujarat in violence over reserving jobs and

university places for the underprivileged.

A police spokesman in Ahmedabad said that six people were injured in Baroda, one of the state's biggest cities, 40 miles away, when troops opened fire on several hundred people throwing stones.

About 50 people were injured yesterday in clashes between police and a crowd in the north Indian state of Jammu and Kashmir, police said.

Police searching for the attackers of an Indian politician raided pilgrim hostels

near the Golden Temple in Amritsar on Saturday, triggering angry criticism from Sikh leaders.

The PFI said police arrested at least three people and recovered a grenade and a pistol in a series of dawn raids on hostels around the holiest Sikh shrine.

The raids were part of a big search in Amritsar for gunmen who shot and wounded Mr Raghunandan Bhatia, a general secretary of Mr Rajiv Gandhi's ruling Congress (I) party, a visitor at Bhatia's house was killed in the attack.—Reuters.

records. In addition, he said, the Aboriginals had no date system and would not disclose the names of those who had died.

Amid the informal hearings dogs threatened to cause havoc under the bench of the three commissioners. Cans of fly spray were placed along the bar table.

The commission and its legal counsel were surrounded by onlookers crunched under the protective shade of a tarpaulin. As a dog relieved itself in front of the gathering and a lizard ran across a foot, the commission's President, Justice James McCrellish, said: "That's tonight, isn't it?"

Mr Eames said a number of separate epidemics befell the community in the 1940s and 50s and there were no health

## Refugee camp hit by shells

Sidon: Shells crashed into a Palestinian refugee camp at the eastern edge of Sidon yesterday after heavy overnight fighting between Muslim and Christian militias, security sources said.

They said that at least 10 shells landed on Miyeh Michel and a refugee camp there, but there were no immediate reports of casualties.

The sources said 10 people were wounded during three hours of heavy shelling between the Christian Lebanese Forces militia and Muslim fighters backed by the army, who have clashed almost daily around this southern port since March 18.

Shells landed in residential areas of Sidon, on the Miyeh Michel and Ain al-Hiwayi Palestinian camps and on nearby villages, starting several fires.

Meanwhile, Syria has invited Lebanese Muslim leaders for talks in Damascus to try to heal a split caused by an inter-Muslim street battle in West Beirut last week. Lebanon's caretaker Prime Minister, Mr Rashid Karameh, said yesterday.

Druse, Shi'ite and Sunni Muslim religious and political leaders have been invited to the meeting on Tuesday, he said.

Fighting between brothers is unacceptable. We call for a correction of the sad situation which exists at a high price from national unity," Mr Karameh said.

Heavy fighting killed two people and wounded 11 in Sidon on Saturday as leaders of the south Lebanese port city asked senior Syrian officials to help to end a month of sectarian strife.

Christian militia in eastern hill suburbs traded machinegun and shellfire with troops and Muslim fighters after a 13-hour lull and two soldiers were among the wounded, security sources said.

Houses and cars were ablaze after army positions near the city centre came under fire from Christians in a suburb called Abra and from Kfar Falous, six miles to the east, where an Israeli-backed militia has a base.

In Beirut, Lebanon's Sunni Muslim religious and political leaders on Saturday denounced fierce inter-Muslim fighting and said they were anxious to restore Muslim unity.

Mr Karameh, himself a Sunni who resigned in disgust after the street battles, told a meeting of Sunni leaders that Syria had pledged to take steps "to ensure the safety and security of Beirut and dignity of its people."

A statement issued after the meeting said that Mr Karameh had told President Hafez al-Assad of Syria and vice-President Abdel-Halim Khaddam of "practices and acts which would not be tolerated" during two days of talks in Damascus.—Reuters.

## Iran 'ready for attack on Iraq'

Amman: Iran has completed preparations for a new attack on Iraq, a Jordanian foreign ministry spokesman said yesterday, appealing for international help to end the Gulf war.

He said Jordan had information that Iran had completed its military preparations and appealed to the international community to perform their duty in ending this war and in supporting Iraq's sincere trend towards finding an honourable and peaceful solution for both sides," according to the official Jordanian news agency Petra.

Baghdad, President Saddam Hussein has set out four conditions for ending the Gulf war with Iran.

The official Iraqi news agency IRNA said yesterday that there would be a ceasefire, a troop withdrawal, an exchange of all prisoners, and direct or indirect negotiations between the two countries.

Negotiations should be based on the principle of non-interference in each other's internal affairs, the President told a meeting yesterday in Mosul.

He said Iraq had told United Nations and other officials that Iraq considered these principles to be just, but Iran was still refusing peace.

A Defence Ministry weekly, Al-Yarmouk, said Iraq was preparing a big "surprise" for Iran.

"Iraq's previous surprises such as blocking Iranian ports, raiding Tehran and (launching) missile attacks were far less than the great surprise that will bring peace," it said.—Reuters.

## PLO vetoes peace talks

Kuwait: A Palestinian guerrilla leader said yesterday the PLO had rejected as "insult" a new set of proposals put up by the US for Arab-Israeli peace talks.

Mr Shalah Khalaf, second-in-command of the PLO's Fatah group, said a meeting of Fatah and PLO leaders in Iraq on Thursday vetoed the proposals, which called on the PLO to recognise Israel's right to exist, he said.—AP.



## Promoting Further Education Initiatives

## Editorial Assistant

You will proof read draft FEU publications after editorial work has been completed; buy print for new and reprinted documents; liaise with printers at the Publications Dispatch Centre. There are wider opportunities to develop your career further. You must have previous experience of editorial work. Detailed knowledge of the further education system would be an advantage. Appointment as Assistant Information Officer, Department of Education and Science, London.

## Promoting British Exports

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This is an exciting opportunity to work on a publicity and promotion programme for British Overseas Trade Board Services. The aim is to develop and market appropriate services for exporters. You will be a member of a small team involved in the production of publications. You will also have the opportunity to become involved in other areas of paid publicity. Practical experience of producing publications and ability to edit competently and write clearly essential. Experience in creating and using audio visual publicity advantageous. Appointment as Information Officer, Department of Trade and Industry, London.

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## Press Officer

The Department of Trade and Industry is responsible for international trade and export promotion, industrial and regional policy in both the public and the private sectors, science and technology policy support for industrial innovation, and corporate and consumer affairs. You will join a busy Press Office with the crucial task of explaining the wide-ranging policies and initiatives to specialist and non-specialist journalists in the national, regional and technical press and in radio and television. Ability to present complex policies clearly and concisely both orally and in writing essential. Knowledge of Parliamentary procedure advantageous. Appointment as Information Officer, Department of Trade and Industry, London.

Further similar vacancies may arise in these and other departments.

SALARY (under review): as Information Officer £17,025-£21,025; as Assistant Information Officer £6,025-£7,970. Starting salary may be above the minimum. Promotion prospects.

For further details and an application form (to be returned by 17 May 1985) write to Civil Service Commission, Alencon Link, Basingstoke, Hants, RG21 1JB, or telephone Basingstoke (0256) 468551 (answering service operates outside office hours). Please quote ref: G51834.

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We have a temporary vacancy for a Film Librarian in our Manchester studio to cover for maternity leave for time months from June 1985.

The Film Library serves as an archive for all Granada's filmed material, including unused footage shot for programmes and catalogued as stock-shot material. Librarians select, catalogue and classify material to be kept, deal with enquiries from both internal and external users and carry out a range of routine library tasks.

Candidates should be qualified librarians, conversant with the UDC classification system. They must be able to work intelligently on their own initiative, to respond speedily to customer requests and work accurately under pressure. They must be keenly interested in film and television and should have experience of handling film.

An attractive salary is offered with excellent conditions of employment.

Write with your cv and all other relevant information about yourself by 28th April 1985 to



Mandy Fletcher,  
Ref: 446,  
Granada Television Ltd., Quay Street,  
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This vacancy exists at the company's Head Office in Milton and would suit an applicant with formal cartographic training plus some experience. The position is a responsible one requiring close liaison with the Cartographic Manager and both Production and Sales departments. Work is varied including compilation, some editorial work, preparing specifications and movement in quality control. A technical approach is required.

Please apply to The Works Director, The Cartographic Press, 25 Evesham Road, Milton, Surrey, GU24 2NR.

Salaries in respect of both appointments are negotiable according to experience and applications should include full personal details.

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To prepare daily media summaries & analysis of U.K. newspapers, TV & Radio coverage of U.S./U.K. & U.S./European relations.

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Applicants should be college educated, have excellent writing & typing abilities and be willing to prepare material on a word processor.

Starting salary £8,935 p.a. for a 40 hour week, rising to £10,025 after a years satisfactory performance. Incumbent will begin work at 7 a.m.

Apply in writing giving full details of experience & qualifications to:

Personnel Officer, American Embassy,  
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THE HEALTH EDUCATION COUNCIL, which is the national body responsible for the increasingly important role of health promotion in England, Wales and Northern Ireland is currently seeking a

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(Salary a.s.a. to £9,500)

The successful applicant will assist the work of the Council's Promotions and Advertising Liaison Officers, in particular by providing administrative support, maintaining financial records and by monitoring expenditure. He or she will liaise with the Council's advertising agencies and assist with promotion and sponsorship activities. There will be scope for individual creative contribution, and applicants should therefore be able to work as part of a team and offer fresh ideas for capturing the public's imagination about health.

Applicants should have experience of advertising or publicity campaign planning and the ability to work independently under pressure.

Further details and an application form returnable by 3rd May, 1985, may be obtained from Mr. T. J. Cartwright, M.A., Assistant Secretary: Personnel and Administration, Health Education Council, 78 New Oxford Street, London WC1A 1AH.

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## PORTRAIT SCULPTOR

Madame Tussaud's invite applications from PROFESSIONAL PORTRAIT SCULPTORS in the London area to work in the Studio of Madame Tussaud's on a freelance basis.

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Madame Tussaud's Ltd.,  
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London NW1 5LR

## ASTON UNIVERSITY

## THE TRIANGLE

The Triangle is Aston University's Arts and Media Centre and comprises a film and video centre, a radio studio with video projection facilities, a photography unit, a recording studio, a media library and a theatre.

## PHOTOGRAPHY ORGANISER

(REF: 85/24/G)

The Photography Organiser will be responsible for establishing and maintaining a programme of photography for the gallery and display space in the Triangle. The gallery is the only one of its kind in the West Midlands and so the person must be able to stimulate an interest in various aspects of photography in the region as a whole, through exhibitions, events and workshops. The unit operates dark rooms, production facilities and discussion units. There is a strong emphasis on education in the use of photography and the person appointed will be expected to liaise with other organisations in the region.

Salary: £11,000-£12,150 p.a.

## MEDIA EDUCATION

## CO-ORDINATOR

(REF: 85/25/G)

The Media Education Co-ordinator will be directly responsible to the Director of the Triangle and will be responsible for the development of the Triangle's media education programme. The programme will include the development of a range of media education materials and the organisation of a series of workshops for schools and colleges. The person appointed will be expected to liaise with other organisations in the region.

Salary: £11,000-£12,150 p.a.

Applications for both positions should be sent to the Director of the Triangle, The Triangle, Aston University, Aston Triangle, Birmingham B4 7ET. Closing date for applications: 19th May 1985.

the  
Museum of  
London

## DEPARTMENT OF COSTUME AND TEXTILES

Applications are invited for the following posts:

ASSISTANT KEEPER/  
SENIOR ASSISTANT KEEPER

£7,432-£12,771

Required to assist the Keeper in the aspects of research, cataloguing, display and publication with respect to the major costume collection. The successful candidate will be a graduate in history or a related subject with a comprehensive knowledge of costume history. Previous museum experience in this field is essential and a knowledge of computerised documentation systems would be an advantage. Commencing salary will depend on experience and qualifications.

## MUSEUM ASSISTANT

£6,432 to £8,067

Required to assist mainly with the cataloguing and storage of the collection. There will be some opportunity for involvement with exhibitions and publications. The successful candidate should be able to demonstrate an interest in costume history. Further details and application forms available from the Personnel Officer, Museum of London, London Wall, London EC4A 3DF.

Closing date for applications: 20th May 1985.

TAKING A JOB OVERSEAS  
If you are considering applying for a job abroad you should, in your own best interests, discuss fully terms and conditions of employment and overseas restrictions that apply to currency earned in the foreign country where the post is offered before acceptance.

ICA  
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Responsible for the administration and control of the financial affairs of the ICA with a turnover approaching £2 million. Must be experienced in production, monthly management accounts, cash flows and annual accounts for audit. Salary c. £10,000.

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ICA VIDEO

To take full responsibility for the ICA Video Unit, a newly formed video production and distribution division. Whilst experience in video would be an advantage, the successful candidate must have a proven entrepreneurial record in marketing in general. Salary c. £10,000.

ADMINISTRATIVE  
ASSISTANT -  
ICA VIDEO

Assistant to ICA Video's Director. Experience in marketing or video production an advantage but not essential. Salary c. £3,000.

GRAPHIC  
DESIGNER

To be responsible for design and production of all ICA Video's promotional material. Applicants should be accompanied by up to 6 photographs of completed work. No original artwork please. Salary £3,000.

Applications to the Publicity Director by 3rd May 1985.

Institute of Contemporary Arts,  
12 Clarendon House Terrace,  
London SW1Y 6AH

ASH  
PRODUCTION  
EDITOR  
(JOURNALS)

Ash, The Association for Information Management, requires a Production Editor to join a busy team producing a range of information-related journals. The successful candidate must be prepared to see issues through to publication. Previous experience essential as the successful candidate will also supervise the work of junior editorial staff.

Subject to interview, successful candidates would be a distinct advantage.

Applications in writing with full cv to Richard Coleman, Ash Publications, 25-27 Bowdoin Street, London WC1R 4LZ.

Salary not less than £8,500.

Closing date: 10 May 1985.

Further details: Richard Coleman, Ash Publications, 25-27 Bowdoin Street, London WC1R 4LZ.

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## LIBRARIES AND ARTS DEPARTMENT

## Arts Officer

Ethnic Arts

£10,725-£11,355 p.a. (inc.)

To work in Camden's Arts and Entertainment Section to promote events in the Borough and support and assist programmes to focus on the arts of Black and Ethnic Minorities in accordance with the Council's race relations policies.

You will arrange arts activities, including mother tongue events; liaise with and advise relevant organisations and individuals in Camden regarding grant aid and other assistance; compile and maintain a Directory of Black and Ethnic Minority arts and organisations.

You should be able to demonstrate experience in arts-related work and an anti-racist commitment to the arts and arts practice.

The Arts Officer is required to encourage and develop involvement of Black and Ethnic Minority women and men, visual and performing artists or groups to participate in the mainstream Arts programme of the Borough.

We welcome applications from Black and Ethnic Minority people, Section 28 (7) (b) Race Relations Act applies. Ref. No. 9/133/9.

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Music and Dance

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To work in the Camden Arts and Entertainment Section to organise and promote music and dance events, including the annual Camden Festival.

A degree or equivalent qualification, experience in Arts Administration and a wide knowledge of, and interest in, music and dance essential. You will need to show a knowledge of a broad spectrum of musical styles and a commitment to work in the community with all sectors of the population. You will work as part of a team of Arts staff promoting over 400 events each year in all parts of the Borough. Ref. No. 9/134/G.

Application form from 3/8/85 to be returned to: Director of Libraries and Arts, St. Pancras Library, 100 Euston Road, NW1 2AL, or telephone 01-278 4444, ext. 2182, quoting appropriate reference number.

Closing date: 7th May 1985.

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SINCE THE LATE Seventies, and particularly since the arrival in office of the Thatcher Government in May 1979, a vast amount of writing has been produced on the Left to account for the troubles which have beset the Labour Party and the labour movement as a whole. The search for explanations — and for remedies — has become more intense than ever since the second Conservative victory at the polls in June 1983, not surprisingly as it was an exceptionally reactionary government which was then resoundingly confirmed in office — despite mass unemployment, the erosion of welfare and collective services, and a manifest incapacity to arrest let alone reverse Britain's economic decline.

Clearly these are hard times for the Left, and it is natural — and desirable — that such times should produce intense thinking and rethinking about what is wrong, and what can be done about it. However, the tendencies which have been strongly predominant in the writings of the Left in the last few years do not offer realistic solutions to the problems now confronting it: they constitute a "new revisionism" that marks a pronounced retreat from some fundamental Socialist positions.

Far from offering a way out of the crisis, it is another manifestation of that crisis, and contributes in no small way to the malaise, confusion, loss of confidence and even despair which have so damagingly affected the Left in recent years.

A great deal of writing on the Left suggests that "Thatcherism" has won the hearts and minds of a large part of the working class and the labour movement — in other words, that a vast and catastrophic ideological and political shift to Thatcherite Conservatism has occurred in Britain.

There is no good evidence for this. It is relevant — though no great comfort — to note that the Conservative Party has always relied on a very substantial measure of working-class support at the polls, and has usually secured it. On this score, the Conservatives did much better under Baldwin in 1931 and 1935 (when they won more than 50 per cent of the vote) than under Mrs Thatcher in 1979 and 1983.

Indeed, they did better in the elections of the 1950s, and in 1970 under Edward Heath. In 1979 and 1983, the Conservatives obtained just over 40 per cent of the vote; and they managed to attract then barely more than 30 per cent of the total electorate. Also, a somewhat smaller percentage of voters opted for the Conservatives in 1983 than in 1979.

These are not figures which indicate any great ideological and political shift to "Thatcherism". Nor do opinion surveys indicate any such shift. This is no argument for complacency, but it is simply to note that what the Left confronts is not a surge to Conservatism and reaction

# Why the Left has fallen on hard times

RALPH MILIBAND

Labour leaders, even in opposition, cannot be expected to make radical moves. Picture of Neil Kinnock by Frank Martin

but a very marked alienation of workers from the Labour Party, which is a very different matter. The point is clearly confirmed by the fact that most of the defections from the Labour Party in the 1983 General Election were to the SDP/Liberal Alliance, not to the Conservatives: those ex-Labour voters who opted for the Alliance were obviously expressing a preference for parties in declared opposition to "Thatcherism".

Some further observations are in order about popular attitudes in recent years. The first is that 84 million voters, most of them from the working class, did vote Labour in 1983: in the light of Labour's decline in the polls and the kind of electoral campaign it waged, this is a truly remarkable fact, much more so than the defections which occurred, and it is testimony to the resilience of popular support of extraordinary strength.

Secondly, there is the growth in trade union membership, to which the authors of the recent pamphlet, *Class Politics*, have rightly drawn attention. From 1968 to 1979, they note, "trade union membership grew from 10.5 million to almost

13.5 million, after being stagnant for the previous twenty years". Whatever the results of opinion polls, the popularity of unions as measured by membership revealed an unprecedented rise in the Seventies across various sections of the population. They also note that there has since then been some decline as a result of the large increase in unemployment. Trade union membership does not bode a political commitment to the Left, but even less does it suggest a commitment to "Thatcherism". After all, one of the main items of the dogma is hostility to trade unionism.

Thirdly, it is necessary, in gauging the appeal of "Thatcherism", to insist on the fact that, in economic terms, it has been a dismal, dreadful failure. No one, outside an admittedly large circle of sycophants, really believes that Mrs Thatcher, for all her bluster and arrogance, has done anything to remedy Britain's economic ills, or that her Government has anything serious to propose to remedy them. The only thing that has kept the Government afloat is North Sea oil: without this, it would have been in desper-

ate trouble. Most people know that Britain is in a awful mess; and a lot of people in the working class — many more than the new revisionism seems to think — know that all "Thatcherism" has done in six long years is to make the mess worse. What, then, of the decline of support for the Labour Party? It has occurred under the auspices of a Labour leadership that was almost exclusively made up of people who belonged to the Right in the Labour Party, and who naturally pursued policies at home and abroad which were congruent with their ideological and political dispositions. It does not, somehow, seem entirely unreasonable to suggest that these policies may have had something to do with the growing popular alienation from Labour.

The argument, of course, is not that the working class has somehow turned away from socialism and turned away from the Labour Party itself, but that the policies which these leaders pursued appeared to provide fewer and fewer reasons for workers to vote Labour. The wonder is that so many

workers remained faithful to Labour.

The responsibility for decline and failure cannot simply be fastened on people like Wilson and Callaghan, heavy though their responsibility is: it must rather be attributed to a whole political orientation, namely social democracy and its will to manage a capitalist social order without ever seeking in practice to bring about a radical transformation of any of its basic features.

It would be wrong to suggest that this sorry record is not criticised, and criticised severely, in the writings of the new revisionism. On the contrary, there are many references in these writings to a variety of Labour failings and derelictions over the years. More interesting, however, are the constructive about the tendencies of the new revisionism are the positions which it adopts in regard to the struggles of the "traditional" Left, in the Labour Party and out. These struggles are of course as old as the Labour Party itself: what gave them exceptional acuity in the years following 1979 were, precisely, the bleak experience of the Wilson and Callaghan years, the determination of the Left in

the Labour Party to push it towards more radical positions, and the inability of the Labour leaders to subside and stifle their critics.

The prevailing assumption is that the "traditional" Left, and not least the Marxists, by its backward-looking "fundamentalism", unwilling to face hard reality, authoritarian, statist, and of course sexist; and much of the new revisionist writing seems to suggest or imply that these deformations are so deeply implanted as to be virtually irredeemable.

Eric Hobsbawm occupies his own particular spot in the revisionist spectrum of thought, where he is probably considered by many to be himself an eminent representative of the "traditional" Left. Be that as it may, he has made no secret of his own impatience with those people — "Bennites" and others — who campaigned for left policies in the Labour Party after 1979. Thus, he was arguing in October 1983 that for many people on the Left before the 1983 General Election, "a Thatcher Government was preferable to a reformist Labour Government", and they therefore felt that "the election was lost anyway, so it didn't much matter that potential Labour voters were puzzled and demoralised by the sight of party leaders and ministers tearing each other's guts out in public for years on issues difficult to see the point of."

More important, however, is Hobsbawm's impatient dismissal of the conflicts in the Labour Party as not only damaging but, it would appear, pretty well pointless, consistent with this, he was writing in March 1984 that on no account must there be "the resumption, from one side of the suicidal civil war within the Labour Party."

"Suicidal civil wars" are undoubtedly to be avoided, but the plea amounts in effect to an insistence on the need for "unity". But this ignores the fact that the leadership's terms, and that without hard pressure and struggle, Labour leaders cannot be expected to move very far in radical directions. More interesting, however, is the insistence on "unity" alone in government. It does not seem very extreme to suggest that the point applies as much to Neil Kinnock, Roy Hattersley and their colleagues, as it did to the predecessors.

Hobsbawm says that "certainly the future lies in a Labour Party which moves to the left". Indeed, he commits himself to the very large proposition that "like it or not, the future of socialism is through the Labour Party." But it needs to be said that if this is to have any meaning at all, it will require a lot more pressure from the Left than Hobsbawm is willing to accept. There is a contradiction here which is not resolved: but the thrust of the argument is unmistakably against what he calls "the fragmented and sectarian revisionism."

Unfortunately, the alternative which is proposed is far removed from any form of

radicalism. Hobsbawm says that "Labour must, of course, recover the support of the working class as a whole," and that it must also "become" — once again, the party of all who work — "a better and fairer society, irrespective of the class pigeon-hole into which pollsters and market researchers put them: in short, to use the old Labour phrase, 'all workers by hand and brain' — and that includes not only the vast majority of Britons who earn wages and salaries."

But the Labour Party has never had the support of the working class "as a whole." Nor has it ever been the party of "all who work by hand and brain." It had been its record at election time would have been very different. Yet, Hobsbawm wants Labour to go even beyond this "vast majority of Britons who earn wages and salaries" and appeal "presumably" to large parts of the solid bourgeoisie.

The trouble with this kind of appeal is that it is always accompanied by a sharp dilution of radical commitments, and an equally strong aversion towards the Left which naturally opposes such dilution. In his famous allusion to the possibility that an electoral arrangement with the SDP/Liberal Alliance might have to be considered at the next election, Hobsbawm says that "some way of uniting the majority of British people which is opposed to Toryism must be found." But the kind of policies to which the argument is pointing are least likely to achieve any such aim. For they demand a search for "formulas" capable of bringing together people who are deeply divided on fundamental issues — a perfect recipe for flabbiness and indecision in opposition to the effectiveness and failure in government.

Eric Hobsbawm has been a steadfast man of the Left for 50 years. He is not only one of its most gifted and distinguished intellectuals, but a man of great honesty and decency, whose responses to the controversies which he has generated have been a model of sobriety and moderation. What lies behind his whole argument is an entirely honourable set of fears. In an article published in January 1983, he wrote: "The danger of a populist, radical right moving even further to the right is patent."

That danger is particularly great because the Left is today discredited and demoralised, and above all because vast masses of the British, or anyway the English, have lost hope and confidence in the political processes and in the politicians: any politician, the danger is real enough. But the way in which he proposes to meet that danger seems likely to aggravate it.

Professor Miliband's most recent book is *Class Power and State Power* (Verso, 1983). This article is an edited extract from the New Left Review, published in the 25th anniversary issue of the New Left Review, published this week.

## FACE TO FAITH

Alistair Kee

## Dead letters

RELIGION has a strange effect on people. Individuals who on any other matter are capable of sophistication, sensitivity, and critical judgment, at the approach of a religious question, bolt into one of two camps and are completely unresponsive. In the current discussion of the Resurrection, this has led to reductionism and trivialisation.

This bolting off in opposite directions deserts the experience of a lifetime. For example, we know that the most important things in life cannot be reduced to simple matters of fact: how we should act out of love, how we should bring up our children, what is worth living for? But when faced with one of the most profound mysteries of the religious life, both camps rush into settling the issue as if it were a simple matter of fact. Or again, the most important things in life defeat matter-of-fact language.

We use the symbol and metaphor, to word pictures and parables, not because the issues are uncertain, but because they go beyond those things that are so trivial as to be capable of being described literally. Indeed, literalism is the enemy of that dimension of being human which we call the spiritual. Yet both camps cannot wait to rush into the literal which kills profound truth.

Finally, a third experience of life which both camps immediately forsake is the fact that we can never predict the future. Of course, we live towards the future, and we anticipate it, hope for it, and fear it. But from government departments to anxious parents we find that the future is always different from our best calculations. History corrects our speculations about it. Yet both camps desert this unchanging experience of mankind when they speak confidently about the Resurrection.

If we did not forsake sophistication, sensitivity, and critical judgment, how might we approach this matter? Here, as elsewhere, there is an alternative. The term resurrection was not coined by Christians. It was widely used in popular Jewish religion in the time of Jesus. This popular religion was characterised by some very extreme and colourful beliefs. Some of these were proved wrong: history corrected their speculations.

For example, they believed that God would send a Messiah, a supernatural warrior, to defeat the Romans and establish the Kingdom of God. No such figure appeared, the Romans crushed the Jews and continued to rule for many centuries. They believed that the end of the world was near, and that another supernatural figure, the Son of Man, would come with judgment, to reward and to condemn. This too was proved wrong.

Both of these beliefs are predictions of how God would act, but history proved them wrong. Or to put it theologically, God acted in a quite different way than they expected. The populist religion also included belief in the resurrection of the dead. When the world came to an end, then those who had been faithful in this life would be taken to the dead to enter the Kingdom.

These events did not happen, and we might expect that the beliefs would be consigned to a lumber room of the history of religions. Not so, because they were taken over by the early Christian Church. They were not taken over literally, but symbolically. As literal events they were wrong, but as symbolic statements they were of immense spiritual significance.

The Messiah had not come as expected, but God had acted to save his people. The old title, Messiah, was now given a new meaning. The Son of Man had not come, but God had revealed a new law of love. The old title, Son of Man, was given a new meaning. The resurrection had not happened, but the same Spirit of God, experienced in Jesus, was granted to the Church. The old hope of resurrection was given a new meaning.

"Resurrection" is not the name of an event: that approach belongs back with the supernatural judges and the supernatural judges. "Resurrection" is now the experience of the early Church, that they were empowered by the same Spirit as Jesus. The question is not whether this resurrection happened, but of course it did: that is — of the Church came into existence. The question is today whether the Church lives today that same spirit of sacrifice, love and justice. If not, then resurrection has not happened. The two camps trivialise the question, because they seek the answer for or against, not the living but among the dead.

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# The angry questions that Israel must now face

Michael Adams

ISRAELIS at all levels have been shocked by what they have seen and heard of their army's withdrawal from Lebanon. The feeling is one of justified anxiety at the dangers confronting their own soldiers, most of them inexperienced conscripts of 19 or 20; but there is also an undercurrent of revulsion at the excesses accompanying the "iron fist" policy of retaliation against a once-friendly civilian population. Behind both there is the awareness of failure, and an uneasy and often angry suspicion that Israel's chosen method of dealing with its enemies is both misconceived and self-defeating.

This mood even for Israel. Outside the country, especially in the United States, which has associated itself so inextricably with Israeli policies and actions, there are some supporters of Israel who still try to represent the Lebanese campaign

as a victory of sorts for Israel. A remarkable example is Norman Podhoretz, the right-wing guru whose article, *Lebanon: why Israel has won*, was published in the Times on March 29.

Most thinking Israelis are more inclined to agree with Anthony Lewis, who in the New York Times columnist, who described the war in Lebanon as "one of the worst disasters in Israel's history: a self-inflicted disaster"; or with Israel's former foreign minister, Abba Eban, who called it "the insane Lebanese adventure."

For the army command it was the disconcerting cause of a sharp decline in the soldiers' morale and their evident indiscipline. Within Israel's quarrelsome coalition government it has provoked an angry debate about the fundamentals of Israeli policy towards the Arab world.

Most important of all, it has lent strength to the current of opinion, previously negligible but which now finds an echo in the political spectrum in Israel, which sees an eventual accommodation with the PLO as the only means by which Israel can achieve peace.

This idea — so much at odds with the traditional consensus of Israeli opinion that under no circumstances can there be any dealing with the PLO — as yet finds little public expression. No member of the political establishment would dare to voice it out loud, although every political correspondent will tell you that it is regularly discussed in the lobbies of the Knesset and even by certain members of the government. It cannot be long now before it emerges as a crucial factor in the continuing debate about Israel's future.

It is more than 10 years since Henry Kissinger, in the aftermath of the October war of 1973, gave to the Israeli government the assurance that the United States would not engage in any discussion with the PLO without Israel's agreement. Nothing has done more to frustrate every subsequent attempt to reach a settlement of the Arab-Israeli conflict.

By endorsing Israel's refusal to negotiate with its principal opponent, it encouraged the Israelis to try to browbeat its Arab neighbours into accepting as a fait accompli its occupation of the West Bank and Gaza. The logical conclusion of that course was the invasion of Lebanon in 1982; and the humiliating circumstances in which the Israelis now find themselves, retreating empty-handed from south Lebanon, underline the failure of that policy and the need for a more realistic policy.

As the resentful army of occupation dismantled its installations in Lebanon last month, Abba Eban wrote in the New York Times: "The lessons of Lebanon and of the governmental decisions that led to the tragedy are about the only baggage that we can take with us as we return home." But what are those lessons? The first, in Eban's view, was that it had been a mistake to assume that a combination of brute force and aggressive diplomacy would be able to achieve "a radical transformation of the power balance and the political configuration of the Middle East."

The second was that Sharon's boast that the infrastructure of the PLO had been destroyed was an empty one, since, as it was all over, "the PLO retains a political veto over any further steps in the peace process."

The logical conclusion, which Abba Eban carefully avoided in this public expression of his views, is surely that Israel must abandon the attempt forcibly to impose its own pattern on the region and that, sooner or later, if the Israelis really want peace with their neighbours (and the Lebanon debacle has had a searing effect on their thinking), they are going to have to deal with the PLO.

The argument for such a radical change of direction on Israel's part was well put in another article in the Jerusalem Post — by Meir Mehar, a member of the paper's editorial staff, on March 10. Israel, he wrote, had long ago undertaken (at Camp David in 1978) to talk to the Palestinians about their future. Mr Mehar and Mr Shamir after him had done everything in their

power to go back on that commitment; but the commitment was still binding on any one since, as it was all over, "the PLO retains a political veto over any further steps in the peace process."

Would it make sense to talk to Palestinians who were without influence and whose appeal to the Israelis to withdraw from Lebanon they represented nobody but themselves? Palestinians who, if they were offered anything, could not accept it until they had asked the permission of the PLO; and who, for fear of being labelled as Quislings or defeatists, would have to be even less accommodating than the PLO itself?

True, wrote Mr Mehar, the PLO was Israel's sworn enemy, disputing the very tenets of Zionism and claiming for the Palestinians the right to live not only in the West Bank, but in those parts of what is now Israel from which they were expelled in 1948. But if the Israelis wanted peace, with whom would they negotiate? The answer was clear: with the PLO; especially since, by denying the Palestinians in

the occupied territories all freedom of political expression, they had "made sure that the PLO would have a monopoly in expressing the political will of the Palestinians."

And he concluded with an appeal which chimed in well with the views of many Israelis: "The bitter aftermath of the Lebanese tragedy: 'How long must it take, how many more wars must we fight, how many lives must be wasted and how crushing must be the economic burden, before the realisation to sink in that the PLO, detestable as it may appear to us, is the representative of the Palestinian Arab, who holds the power of veto over anything that any Arab state or any group of Palestinians might agree on an Arab-Israeli settlement.'"

It is a question that many Israelis are asking, privately today and to which the Israeli government will have to address itself seriously before long.

Michael Adams is Research Fellow at the Centre for Arab Gulf Studies at Exeter University.

preceded the Sex Discrimination Act emphasised that legislation is a necessary precondition for an effective equal opportunities policy but it is of a sufficient condition. A wide range of administrative and voluntary measures will be needed to translate the ideal of equal opportunity into practical reality," it said. A local authority has the legal power, under Section 71, to contract with companies on condition that they adopt an adequate equal opportunities policy.

Local authorities also have the commercial power to achieve that end, since many companies depend on contracts with public authorities. Given that economic sanctions are the only form of pressure which companies respond to, it is surprising that it has taken local authorities so long to set foot on a route for translating the ideal of equal opportunity into the practical reality which has been successfully

used by public authorities in the USA for 20 years.

The GLC is not — as some of its critics appear to suggest — penalising Rowntrees for failing to produce as much dark chocolate as milk chocolate, but for its refusal to cooperate on a policy of fundamental importance to many Londoners. The GLC has every right to deny funding to companies which will not comply in these respects.

If Londoners do not like the GLC policy, they can (if Mrs Thatcher so permits) vote against it. Which is more than can be said for the accountability of commercial companies. Other local authorities will, one hopes, pass the GLC slogan on to their contractors: Have a Break — send the quiz back.

David Pannick is a barrister and a Fellow of all Souls College, Oxford.

# How the Kit Kat ban gives fresh hope for equality



## OUT OF COURT

David Pannick

THE GLC no doubt expected controversy to flow from its decision to ban Kit Kat choc-

olate bars in its schools, youth clubs, and offices after the manufacturers, Rowntree Mackintosh, refused to complete an equal opportunities questionnaire.

The Daily Telegraph leader-writer, well-known for understanding of injustice and oppression, went into overdrive: the GLC were "turning local authorities into ethical policemen... petty hysteria... a touch of the McCarthy era... a very ugly episode."

The "race relations industry" in other words those people who wish to secure equal opportunities for minorities and for women — has for once given its opponents considerable cause for concern. The action of the GLC is a welcome sign that 30 years after the coming into force of the first Race Relations Act, local authorities are getting the message: that they have wide legal powers which they should

use to further equal employment programmes by those with whom they do business.

The Sex Discrimination Act, 1975, and the Race Relations Act, 1976, have achieved a modest success in eradicating overt discrimination. Employers no longer advertise job vacancies with signs saying: "No coloureds or women." What the law has not yet achieved is the removal of those practices which are unnecessary for an efficient workplace yet have the effect of excluding blacks and women from certain jobs despite their ability to carry out the job duties.

Pervasive examples are word-of-mouth recruitment, which makes it difficult for blacks to gain entry to a white workforce, and promotion policies based on length of unbroken service, which make it difficult for women to combine a career with family responsibilities.

Because employers often do not realise that they are applying policies which have such an effect, progress towards the goal of equal employment opportunity depends on monitoring the ethnic and sexual composition of the workforce. If women or blacks are concentrated in the more menial jobs, and if they are not promoted to more responsible posts, one can then attempt to define the reasons for this.

It may well be that the employers are, unconsciously, adopting practices which are unfair (in denying women and blacks job opportunities) and inefficient (by depriving the employer of a larger pool of potential employees from which to appoint and promote).

Rowntree Mackintosh has declined to provide the GLC with the information necessary to enable the council to assess whether the company's policies further equal employment opportunity. It is

difficult to understand what the company has to fear. Critics who complain that the GLC has no business depriving children of their daily Kit Kat should look at Section 71 of the Race Relations Act.

This imposes a duty on all local authorities to "make appropriate arrangements with a view to securing that their various functions, are carried out with due regard to the need to eliminate unlawful racial discrimination and to promote equality of opportunity, and good relations between persons of different racial groups."

The breadth of Section 71 was indicated by a Court of appeal decision in March. The court held that the section gave Leicester city council power to ban Leicester Rugby Club from using council facilities because of its links with a rugby tour to South Africa.

The White Paper which

preceded the Sex Discrimination Act emphasised that legislation is a necessary precondition for an effective equal opportunities policy but it is of a sufficient condition. A wide range of administrative and voluntary measures will be needed to translate the ideal of equal opportunity into practical reality," it said. A local authority has the legal power, under Section 71, to contract with companies on condition that they adopt an adequate equal opportunities policy.

Local authorities also have the commercial power to achieve that end, since many companies depend on contracts with public authorities. Given that economic sanctions are the only form of pressure which companies respond to, it is surprising that it has taken local authorities so long to set foot on a route for translating the ideal of equal opportunity into the practical reality which has been successfully

used by public authorities in the USA for 20 years.

David Pannick is a barrister and a Fellow of all Souls College, Oxford.





Polly Toynbee

ENOCH Powell's Unborn Children (Protection) Bill is a misnamed bill. If ever there was one, it should have been called the Unborn Children (Prevention) Bill, for that is likely to be its main effect, even if Mr Powell is now claiming that it is not its intent.

What made Enoch Powell take up this issue? Some of his enemies in the House of Commons say that it was sheer vote-catching, populism, his taste for raking up the most emotive and explosive subjects.

His famous piercing blue eyes fix his interlocutor like a bird of prey, his greying quiff standing up from his head like a crest. His technique is to intimidate his questioner into submission with his stern unbending glare, defying you to lapse into stupidity or impertinence. He once started an interview with a colleague by saying: "You ask your questions and I shall answer them, in so far as they are meaningful." He is not so much a headmaster as a headmaster of Latin and Greek (which he was) as the Brigadier (which he also was). What has such a man to do with gynaecology, fertility and obstetrics?

I asked what made him take an interest in embryos? "I read the Warnock report," he answered, "and my first reaction was that that won't do. You cannot entrust such power to anyone." What does he fear could be the result of this research? "Fear is not the relevant word, not the word of my choice, but 'repugnance'. There are certain things which individuals and society reject instinctively. This society instinctively rejects the creation of a human embryo in a laboratory for experimentation."

But are instinctive feelings a sound basis for making law? "All our criminal law is

based on instinctive feelings," he answered. "Rationality is only one aspect of the human being, and not the most prominent of the human being in his social aspect." He went on to say that people could not be trusted with the power to experiment on human embryos. "What was he afraid they might do with such power? 'What men always do with power'—abuse it."

Why should a man who so respects learning, as he always says he does, wish to shut down an important area of investigation that will increase our knowledge and understanding? "Why should a man dedicated to the pursuit of knowledge have less repugnance for such research than a man in the street? In any case in my branch of learning, experiment is impossible. Advance is made through thought. Experiment is often used as a substitute for observation and thought."

He has never been particularly outspoken on issues such as these before, so why now? "I have always voted against abortion and against divorce," he says. "Though abortion and the experimentation on embryos are poles apart, I have a certain sense that there are limits beyond which men cannot be allowed to go." Here he smiled, a crack breaking across his face of granite, as he added, "Every good Tory believes in original sin." Does he? "Of course I do. The imagination of man's heart is evil from his youth."

When the bill came up for its second reading, the House of Commons, on a free vote, gave it a large majority of 127. What alarms opponents now is that even if the Powell bill falls in the House next week for want of time, it has already established the strength of its support. This is a well-informed influence the Government in introducing a highly restrictive bill of its own, rather than following the already cautious limits set down in the Warnock report.

When the bill returns to the House of Commons next week for its report stage, MPs will have to grapple again with the great complexities of the issues of test tube babies and embryos. The bill's four short clauses leave some of the central issues open to many interpretations. One thing is crystal clear. If it were to become law, it would force doctors and nurses up in no much red tape that it will be difficult for present treatments to proceed without

**B I L L**

To  
Make provision relating to human embryos produced by A.D. in vitro fertilisation, and for connected purposes.

**B**EAR ENACTED by the Queen's most Excellent Majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons, in this present Parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same, as follows:—

1.—(1) Except with the authority of the Secretary of State, no person shall—

(a) procure the fertilisation of a human ovum in vitro (that is to say, elsewhere than in the body of a woman), or

(b) have in his possession a human embryo produced by in vitro fertilisation.

Enacted in pursuance of the recommendation of the Warnock Committee.

Introduction to the Unborn Children (Protection) Bill  
Right: Enoch Powell canvassing in Belfast

**'In my branch of learning, experiment is impossible. Advance is made through thought. Experiment is often used as a substitute for thought'**

doctors risking being sent to prison.

The bill will only allow an egg to be fertilised outside the womb with permission from the Secretary of State, for a stated woman, by a stated doctor at a stated clinic. His permission expires after six months in spite of the fact that currently some treatments take far longer. The embryo can only be created for the purpose of enabling a named woman to bear a child.

Dr Robert Edwards, test tube baby pioneer, says that if such a law had been in ex-

istence when he and Patrick Steptoe first started work on IVF, then Louise Brown and the many babies who came after her, would never have been born.

The questions raised about how this bill would be interpreted are many, not least whether this vital research can continue under the provisions of this bill. Dr Edwards has read it carefully and concludes that it will not be possible. He was surprised when Enoch Powell visited his clinic two weeks ago to hear Mr Powell assure him that none of the techniques Dr Edwards currently uses will be affect-

ed by the bill. But, says Dr Edwards, reading and re-reading the bill with care there is nothing in it which suggests that to be the case. As the explanatory memorandum lays out: "The bill prevents a human embryo being created, kept or used for any purpose other than enabling a child to be borne by a particular woman. It makes it an offence to have in possession an embryo except with the authority of the Secretary of State, but gives expressly for the above purpose and no other."

Medical ethics are rarely handled well in the House of

Commons. The question here, as with abortion, or transplant surgery or many other medical matters, is where the line is hard to draw: that is no reason to refuse to draw it at all, to bring down the shutter on research in the style of the Pope's treatment of Galileo.

One in eight couples are infertile, and at present most of them are condemned to a life of sadness and lost careers. IVF techniques are laborious and uncertain. A disappointed nine out of ten of those who undergo the lengthy and no doubt distressing treat-

ment have their hopes dashed. Their only chance is that new techniques will improve IVF's rate of success. Dr Edwards and the others say that further improvements can only be made through use of spare embryos for research.

On his visit to the clinic, Mr Powell told Dr Edwards that he could still use the spare embryos for research, so long as this research could be deemed for the benefit of the particular woman from whom the egg had been obtained. But who, Dr Edwards wonders, will decide what precisely could be said to bene-

fit her directly? How narrowly would that interpretation be drawn?

Dr Edwards himself has never created an embryo outside the womb for the sole purpose of experiment. This he says he never would. This bill does not appear to say on paper what Mr Powell now claims it does. Dr Edwards says, in the end only the courts could resolve this, if the bill is passed, it would take a brave doctor to continue with the research, knowing that they might be taken to court at any time, and risk a two-year sentence.

Next Monday the House of Commons will again debate the subject. The House in full cry chasing after a "moral" issue is rarely a pretty sight. No doubt as the last debate we shall hear the baying of those who claim embryo research is a Nazi-style torture, Frankensteinian grafting or a cloning of a master race. It is hardly surprising that doctors like Dr Edwards are morally offended at having their moral standards publicly impugned.

For this research is not about the cutting up of little babies or the creation of a Brave New World humanoid species. The recommendations of the Warnock report would have more than at any such fears, had they formed the basis for this bill.

This research concerns the study of minute clusters of cells, too small for the human eye to see, too uniform to have even the rudiments of a nervous system, too uncertain in potential to have much chance of survival in nature. Study of these cells could reveal the secrets of hereditary disease, and how to prevent it, and help bring children to the thousands of childless. Perhaps Members of Parliament have now had a little more time to weigh up the clear advantages, and dismiss their more irrational fears.

This Wednesday at 2.30 p.m. the Grand Committee Room of the House of Commons, there will be a Lobby for the Children, arguing against the Enoch Powell bill. Speakers will include Dr Robert Edwards, Dr David Owen (SDP), Jo Richardson (Labour), Peter Thurnham (Conservative), Barbara Hoyle (Nationalist), and others. The Grand Committee Room of the House of Commons, there will be a Lobby for the Children, arguing against the Enoch Powell bill. Speakers will include Dr Robert Edwards, Dr David Owen (SDP), Jo Richardson (Labour), Peter Thurnham (Conservative), Barbara Hoyle (Nationalist), and others. The Grand Committee Room of the House of Commons, there will be a Lobby for the Children, arguing against the Enoch Powell bill. Speakers will include Dr Robert Edwards, Dr David Owen (SDP), Jo Richardson (Labour), Peter Thurnham (Conservative), Barbara Hoyle (Nationalist), and others.

Aging can be a desperate and unnerving experience. Barbara Ambrose contemplates the future, the present, and the past from a disused sandpit near the thirteenth green.

## There is no agony column for the anguish of being over 50

I WAS 50 years old last week. A middle-aged housewife with a sagging jaw line and thickening waist. My married daughter treats me with fond contempt, for she only sees this shell, this husk of me, masquerading as an older typical mother. Somewhere I missed the way I never meant to end up like this! This formless blob of 50! At what point in my life was I diverted to this despicable family residence in deepest suburbia? Coffee mornings and fork lunches for the Liberal Party have crept up on me. I join other worthy ladies in twin-sets and bushy eyebrows to serve teas to the Elderly Confused. I preside over the Hoopla Stalls at the Church Fete and listen to an innane chorus on dried flower arrangements, home help and the price of beef. Armed with traditional trug basket and secateurs I snip off the heads of dead roses as the long pointless

summer of my 51st year begins.

In the spring I felt no sap rise, no sense of renewal. Now, in this clipped and colour charted summer garden, I feel no full blown ripe, no fulfilment. It is the sterile world of the seed catalogue. A world I'm out of step with because I hear no drum beat at all. No pace-maker to synchronise the rhythm of my erratic heart.

I'm appalled by my sophisticated friends who eat their Sunday breakfast with the colour supplement's glossy close-ups of suffering and bloody death, propped against the butter dish! Do the ladies at the Oxfam luncheon know that four-fifths of the world go hungry? How can I dance at the charity ball for the physically handicapped?

I've done meals-on-wheels and Help-the-Aged, but dogooders are defeated by the

resentment of their grateful victims. I deserted the WVS and their green uniformed pecking order. I listened to the Jesus Freaks preaching their Festival of Light, but only the Sally Army, hanging away from their tambourines, have any real meaning, and I've heard their message before.

I'm obsessed by my secret search for a pattern, a thread of order, a reason for being. I sit in strange churches and add up the numbers of last Sunday's psalms and look for a hidden meaning in anonymous notices in the Vestry. I talk to strange men at bus stops, safe in my middle aged spread. I read the small advertisements in The Lady and Private Eye, but there is no agony column for my particular anguish.

Women's magazines tell me that I'm suffering from the menopause, and it is quite natural to be emotionally dis-

turbed now that my family no longer need me. But they've got it wrong! The problem is that I no longer need them.

My husband is a stranger. This evening, as usual, he sits in front of the television, mesmerised by the under-water flicker of film epic gunfire, a glass of whisky in his hand and a glazed look in his eyes. I envy him his easy escape!

I leave the house unnoticed. Through the dusk roses shine with a luminous light. The lane to the golf course is in deeper shadow and the break in the hedge laced with briars. I slide through, and follow the edge of the vicarage garden, crossing the fairway to the disused sandpit near the 13th green.

The sandpit is overgrown and enclosed by brambles, but I have cleared a path to the bottom, where the grass is covered by coarse rye grass.

I lie down full length and see the falls flow pale across the darkness. Water and the white sand of the river bank shines softly in faded and filtered moonlight. The Survey sand beneath me is the river sand and the brambles on the fringe of the 13th green are the dark fringes of eucalyptus palms. The roar of distant traffic is the drumming of tropical rain as it creeps towards us across the jungle.

We make love as the warm, stinging wave of pain envelops us. I feel the curve of the earth down my spine tilt and shudder as the stars swing across the sky.

But there is an ocean of time between now and then. I am fifty years old. I no longer have lovers, nor want them. But this I realise is a new aspect of freedom, a negative and barren liberty. To be released from the driving need for physical love, from the

vandies that attend it and the despair that follows, is an empty solace.

As I lie in the grass at the bottom of the sandpit, watching the suburban stars, this empty longing inside me overflows and fills the sandy hollow. My bones melt and my flesh blurs at the edges. My brain runs safely out of my ears. I am nothing. Empty and complete! A void held in shape by the blades of summer grass around me.

I long to stay in this secret world, never to return to the confusion of my petty world: I long for a stake to be driven through my empty heart and still its plaintive bleat for ever. I long for an axe to cleave my skull in two. I want many days between fifty and death? The choice is mine!

With sudden clarity I realise how simple the answer is. Now I know why sex maniacs murder middle-aged

women on Surrey golf courses! Now I know why strange ladies go to the hanging after dark, burning dead on the thirteenth green! For they are willing victims! Murderers! Longing to embrace their executioner. Death becomes very attractive.

But I have no need for this melodrama, nor need I wait for a chance maniac. The time, place, and manner of my release can be of my own choosing. Tonight, if I wish, I can go back to the house for sleeping pills and a bottle of whisky, and return unnoticed to the sun dried grass, still flattened by my body, holding my shape. There I can sip my drink and swallow my pills and drift and dream and finally rest in peace.

Now I know there's a way out, the hands of fear around my heart begin to melt. Strangely, the freedom to die has also given me the freedom to live!

**Le Mariage de Figg-Harrow**  
(An Opera Bouffe)

The first act, preceded by an overture, with its whispered suggestion of *intrigue*... opens in the Sales Suite of International Showhouse Inc.

Down Figg-Harrow, a lovely, but vicious GOSPEL idles over the photo copies... admiring the monstrous diamond which adorns her tiny hand. She is betrothed and soon will wed, forsaking the tedious rites of the office FOREVER!

There follows a *sprechgesang* "NO WAY!" sung by Edmund Reep (an old LI-SU)

"I've lived... a life that's full... I've travelled each 'n' every highway... But... SWEET! For that old bed!"

I did it? *Mooo Waa-yy!*

He did it? *No Waa-yy!*

Coo Coo Koh-i-moot! Did you ever see such a rock before!

She exits to the Ladies Toilet... unaware that her colleagues nurse HATRED in their bosoms....

She's a nosy little rum-bur... She really is the PITS! I'm not sad she's leaving... She gets on my side!

CHORUS: No, we're not sad she's leaving... she gets on our n' fits!

Enter Mrs Wagstaff, a virtuous wife, she pleads with the company to sign a tribute for the departing Figg-Harrow, and entreats them for fiscal contributions towards a leaving present....

NO WAY!

Empty-handed, Mrs Wagstaff exits. There follows an intermezzo: radiating love for humanity, and we see Donna Figg-Harrow preparing a PARTY to thank her colleagues for being so superb to work with....

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## Michael Billington on Martine at the National Theatre

**Leila & the Wakes®**

FROM CELEBRATIONS TO REBELLIONS THEY WERE THERE...  
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## Sensitivities tend to outweigh commemoration

Formality, protocol, and punctilio are in two current controversies preventing what they are intended in diplomacy to achieve. President Reagan's visit to Germany may well pass off in a glow of warmth and satisfaction because the President has the gift of attracting to his person those who might otherwise be keen to resent or oppose the substance of what he is doing. Given the choice, however, he could be excused for calling the whole thing off and staying at home, lest by the importance vested in his visit to the German war cemetery at Bitburg he continues to antagonise Jews, or by honouring the Jewish dead at Belsen he is deemed to emphasise the German past rather than the German present and future. He has the unusual distinction, bestowed on him by his protocol secretaries, of scaling both horns of a dilemma at the same time. Neither he nor his secretaries, however, are chiefly responsible for the unseemly sequence of announcements of the past few days: rather it is the extreme sensitivity — possibly the affectation of sensitivity — among those who are exploiting the occasion which has done the damage.

A simultaneous exercise in the promotion of misunderstanding concerns the Prince and Princess of Wales. Having reasonably hoped while in Italy to attend mass celebrated by the Pope, they have been cautioned against that act of Christian brotherhood by "officials" (whether an individual or a consensus we may perhaps not learn) who fear not for the occasion itself but for what might be read into it by persons ill-disposed to the See of Rome, to the ecumenical movement, or to any weakening of passions sanctified by time and the Tudors. When he visited Canterbury cathedral and prayed there with the Archbishop, the Pope was, in the strict ecclesiastical theory of the Roman church, allowing himself to be entertained by a bunch of heretics and apostates. That did not prevent him from judging the reality and preferring it to the fiction. Left to themselves the Prince and Princess would have done the same: one may be sure it was the civil advisers, not the clerical ones, who persuaded them otherwise.

The first of these two unhappy episodes argues against the meticulous observance of public anniversaries. As time goes on the world in which the original event took place changes, often out of recognition. It may serve only a perverse and harmful purpose to try to relive the emotions which governed the past. To be sure there may be an important cathartic meaning to such ceremonies, as when a vow is taken never to let the like happen again. But that is not always, or often, the outcome. The Irish calendar is studded with memorial occasions — the Battle of the Boyne, the siege of Derry, the Easter Rising, Bloody Sunday, Bloody Friday, hunger strike deaths, assassinations — which provide for the annual renewal of vows of a different and more sinister kind, the origins of which would be better allowed to fade or even be extinguished.

The intervals between observances are, of course, arbitrary. Nothing much was said or done for the 38th anniversary of the end of the war in Europe and nothing much will happen on the 42nd. By the 50th anniversary some of the lessons of the 40th may have been learned. Some of that time could well be devoted here to a reassessment of an anniversary charged with deep meaning, if to a diminishing number of people. That is the annual observance at the cenotaph of the dead of two world wars. For most of its history this has been an uncontroversial occasion, but latterly the events being remembered have taken second place to rows over which political leaders should officially attend. As long as the ceremony occupies an important date in the diary it would be preferable for the monarch alone to perform it and for those whom the cameras might miss to stand silently behind.

## Vietnamese need more help now

Ten years ago President Thieu resigned in Saigon and within days the Vietnam war was over. The world is still trying to cope with the human consequences. More than 150,000 people fled from South Vietnam immediately. Throughout the past decade they have been joined by a steady stream of refugees. Almost a million people from Indo-China, including the 600,000 boat people, have been taken in by other nations. Most have gone to the United States, Canada, France, Australia and West Germany rank next, followed by Britain. This country's contribution is a modest one. Some 19,000 Vietnamese have made their homes here during the past 10 years. The Vietnamese in this country are now facing increasing difficulties in almost every aspect of their lives. So the Home Affairs Select Committee of MPs has got its timing spot on by producing its report about the Vietnamese refugees just at the time when anniversary-conscious thoughts are turned once more to the tragedy of Indo-China.

Britain's responsibility for the refugees already settled here is obvious enough. And so is the refugees' plight. The vast majority of the Vietnamese, perhaps as many as 80 per cent, are unemployed. Only a handful speak English proficiently. They were deliberately scattered around the country, so have not been able to develop as communities. Sometimes too they suffer harassment. The committee's solutions are sensible and unexceptional. Provide more language training and business start-up courses. Make it easier for Vietnamese to get into the Youth Training Scheme and the Community Programme. Encourage them to come together in a number of specified cities. Set up more community facilities and ease the funding channels. All this requires more public spending, of course, and in current circumstances should be a Whitehall, and particularly a Home Office, responsibility. The Home Office seems willing to accept it. So Mr David Waddington, the responsible minister, should make an early announcement saying how he intends to go about it.

What Mr Waddington and his officials appear less willing to accept are the committee's proposals for dealing with the Vietnamese refugee problem in Hong Kong. Britain has two responsibilities here. The first is to speed up and ease the reunification of the 400-500 Vietnamese now in temporary camps in Hong Kong and elsewhere with their relatives in Britain. The second is to take a lead in reducing the logjam of Vietnamese refugees in Hong Kong. Some 12,000 of them are stranded there, of whom half are kept in the closed camps which the MPs compare with prison conditions. It is now, the committee says, a precondition for resolving the problem that Britain accepts a new intake and encourages other countries to do likewise. Ministers are afraid of doing anything which might encourage anyone, either in Britain or in Hong Kong, to believe that the doors are open to immigration from the colony on any significant scale. But the select committee's proposal, which is a very modest one, does not raise that issue. The Government should make a virtue of accepting the MPs' plan now, rather than waiting to be forced into doing the same thing later.

## LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

### How tax reform could put our houses in order

Sir,—You report the Shadow Chancellor distancing himself from Michael Meacher's proposals to reform mortgage tax relief (April 18). I hope that they will think through the need to reform not only mortgage interest relief but most other tax allowances as well.

Over 50 per cent of all personal income is now exempted from tax by way of one of a hundred or more tax allowances. This system, which results in high marginal rates of tax, favours those in higher incomes. Any future Labour Government committed to making our society fairer will have to reform what can best be described as the tax benefit welfare state.

Some people have called for the outright abolition of individual tax benefits — like mortgage interest relief. I do not believe that such a demand is electorally wise. A very different proposition,

however, is to apply cash ceilings to most tax allowances.

The reform will work like this. In respect to mortgage interest relief the Exchequer subsidy would be frozen at its current level and the building societies would have the job of sharing the sum equitably among home buyers.

An incoming Labour Government committed to this policy should publish its projections on the extra revenue which will accrue to the Exchequer and, even more importantly, say how this extra revenue will be used each year. Taking the poor out of tax, reducing the rates of tax on building societies, basic benefits — like child benefit — ought to be priorities.

Figures produced for me by the House of Commons Library show that had cash ceilings been applied in 1975/76 on just four benefits — mortgage interest relief,

pensions, relief, life insurance premium relief, and relief on pension premiums for the self-employed — the extra revenue by 1984/85 would have been £17.4 billion. That shows the scope for radical change if such a policy was — comprehensively adopted.

Frank Field, MP (Lab, Birkenhead), House of Commons.

Sir,—David Henke's article on Michael Meacher's proposals to abolish mortgage interest tax relief though not income subsidies to owner-occupiers, says, and very misleadingly, misses the point with regard to housing policy.

Mr Henke writes "that if it is a more noble objective to subsidise children, through big increases in child benefit than through big increases in mortgage interest relief, then British families should be given greater priority than rows of over-

priced, decaying semi-detached or badly designed council flats."

However, mortgage interest relief is an income subsidy to mortgagees which has virtually nothing to do with capital investment in bricks and mortar. Indeed, as the tax relief bill has grown by 150 per cent to £5,500 million in the last five years, there have been vast amounts of public sector capital investment in housing.

Outright abolition of the mortgage subsidy — adding about £50 per month to the average mortgagee's housing costs — is clearly not politically acceptable. However, reform which would limit relief to the standard rate of tax and reduce the standard rate of relief from 30 per cent to 25 per cent would produce savings of £800 million at cost of £1,000 per week to the average mortgagee.

The resultant savings,

would then be available as part of a package for real capital investment in public and private sector housing. Indeed such a package containing increased resources for repair and improvement grants to tackle the problem of disrepair in private housing would be welcomed by owner-occupiers.

Such capital investment in housing is urgently necessary if we are seriously to tackle the crisis — whether homelessness or housing conditions — which afflicts families and single people in Scotland and throughout the United Kingdom. Mr Henke's suggestion that such investment in some way conflicts with the reform of the social security and tax systems is a view which serves no one. Yours Noel Dolan (Director of Shelter, Scotland), 55 Cockburn Street, Edinburgh.

### Votes lost in the post

Sir,—I have been a rank and file member of the TGWU for 15 years. I am unfortunately not an active member, and rarely go to meetings.

I did however know that there was an election taking place for General Secretary last year. With very little difficulty, I found out (by telephone) when and where my branch ballot was taking place and I went along and voted.

I did this because I wanted to have a vote. I would have had to do the same thing had I wanted to vote in a parliamentary election.

Members in Northern Ireland could also have done this, had they been concerned about their vote. It is mischievous of me to wonder how much the attraction of being on television created this sudden concern in these a year after the event? Some television journalists do have such a winning way about them.

As to your Leader writer's infatuation with postal ballots, and nothing but postal ballots may I ask him/her to consider two points?

First, the most famous ballot rigging scandal in union history was in the ETU, in 1974 (to quote the Employment Gazette of Radio 4) "a semi-postal vote".

Second, given that union records of their members' addresses are taken from information supplied by the members, and that members often neglect to inform their unions when they move, it is often the case that, in work place ballot will give more members an opportunity to vote than will a postal ballot. I am quite confident that, in the absence of any real evidence (as opposed to media hype), Ron Todd can consider that he has already received a vote of confidence as the next General Secretary of the TGWU, and wish him the best of luck. Yours, 1/128 Branch, TGWU, London N14.

### Rev. doctors

Sir,—Dr Bernard Taylor's letter (April 13) discloses an intriguing parallel between the medical profession and the church when it comes to telling the truth.

We have recently been implicitly informed by the Bishop of Norwich, for example, that the role of the church lies in protecting its members from discovering that some of their beliefs may be false beliefs. Now we have a parallel in the medical profession (31 years in general practice) declaring that patients who don't want to face the truth about the causal link between their life-style and their illness should be "jollied along" by the doctor rather than made to feel "guilty" by doses of the truth—even if the truth is the vital step on the road to recovery!

The role of the doctor (as with the cleric) it seems, is not to dispel the ignorance that is standing in the way of physical (or spiritually) health, but to collude in this ignorance in order to make the patient's life more comfortable. Yours faithfully, Ted Marsden, 110 Edge Lane, Salford, Manchester.

### Policing without the politics

Sir,—I refer to your piece on the International Police Association, written by David Pallister (March 20) and published on March 28.

At present, the Association's application for an upgrading of its consultative status is before the UN. That application has received support from the Geneva and Vienna offices of the UN.

We have not been informed of the result of that application so it does not appear on the agenda of the British Section of the National Council meeting in Scotland. The agenda for the Association's World Congress in Paris has not been prepared, let alone published.

I did not propose the admission of South Africa. As an international officer, I have no vote nor have I the right to make a proposition. Equally, of course, I was not part of the British delegation but attended the meeting in my own right in consequence of the international office I hold. Incidentally, I was never Chief Constable of Kent.

The Association is individual membership based and it is for individuals to apply for membership. Providing they accept our principles of no politics, no race, no religion, no rank and no discrimination on colour or sex, they will be accepted.

We have had individual members in South Africa virtually since the birth of the Association in England in 1950. Our Statutes require that if there are more than 30 members in any country, they may choose to take steps to form a self-governing National Section. This involves the adoption of national statutes approved by international body and the election of officers.

There was no bitter opposition from Belgium, Holland and Nigeria at the World Congress in Wiesbaden.

Neither the British Section nor this office has heard of or from Mr Chedu Kwaana.

We did not "eventually admit that 850 South Africans had joined." We were proud of the fact and published in many of our publications throughout the world, particularly drawing attention to the fact of 300 of them were black. We are not and never will be political.

Yours faithfully, H. V. D. Mallett, International Police Association, Maidstone, Kent.

### A COUNTRY DIARY

KESWICK: The Lake District Special Planning Board has bought Dale Head Hall at Thirlmere from Manchester Corporation for an, as yet, unstated purpose. This board did not, it seems, have to endure the trials that the first Manchester water committee had when they surveyed the valley before creating Thirlmere from the two little lakes of Wythburn and Leathes waters in the last century.

The Leathes Stanger family had been herabouts for centuries and in the 1870's Thomas Stanger Leathes, Lord of the Manor of Wythburn lived at Dale Head Hall — he vigorously opposed any purchase. His farmers' was a case of intruders with broomstick and no one could visit that bit of the shore. However Mr Bateman, a water engineer and a determined man, with a German grave crept past the Hall on all fours in soaking rain and saw what they needed. They

came back to Keswick, sodden, in face severe colds. Conditions were dry on Helvellyn in snow, a horse sank in a bog and there were "disastrous" falls.

Later, when the Bishop of Manchester came he insisted on a sub-committee following him to the top of the Crag (1,385 feet) pronouncing it "grand." There were tumbling stone walls to climb and the Bishop twisted poor Alderman Bateman who got stuck on the top of his joint. But the whole party dined well at the Hall on hot-pot — much to his Grace's liking.

The Archbishop of York had an easier trip but a plaintive after dinner at the Hall because "York" got no hot-pot as "Manchester" had done. Today, in cold rain, Dalehead seen from Ambroth looks snug in its embracing trees, backed by the snow-capped, beak-reined Helvellyn.

ENID J. WILSON

### Where there's smoke there's an Agatha Christie

Sir,—Recently I've had a fairly long period of enforced idleness and have been able to read great deal. My interests are quite wide ranging and the public library has been a life support system.

I have noticed a curious thing, however. Of all the various types of books I read, only the thrillers and detective stories smell of cigarette smoke. (I notice as a non-smoker.)

What can this mean? That smoking is now confined to thriller readers? That those who need the need need exciting, quick-moving literature? That people who read "heavier stuff" have more self-restraint (or sense)? What further suggestions are there?

I know it is that now nine out of 10 thrillers disgust me by the odour, and the small left on my hands before I have finished the first paragraph. — Yours (Mrs) Mary E. Smith, Larkhill Spinal Lane, Alcester, Warwickshire.

Sir,—Mrs Lusi (Letter, April 7) correctly points out that Zaire's tobacco farmers, like those in several other African nations, are delighted to get buckets of cash for their crop. So presumably are the opium growers of Pakistan and Thailand, asbestos miners and people employed by the nuclear arms industry. And how touching of BAT to "promise" to build a community health centre at Makayanga rather like the media promising to build a drug rehabilitation centre.

It is curious that they don't build health centres in countries like Britain, but with 100,000 annual deaths from smoking, this might prove slightly more expensive than their Zaire gesture.

Zaire has one of the highest rates of cancer in the world. African nations which have a surplus balance of trade in tobacco. Most others are like Sudan, which in 1982 had a balance of payments deficit of \$248 million, external public debt amounting to 48 per cent of GNP and received 185,000 tonnes of cereals in food aid. The next year it



paid out 28 million Sudanese pounds for imported tobacco and exported none.

With life expectancy often below 50 in Africa, lung cancer typically showing up 50 years after smoking commences and widespread cigarette smoking being relatively recent in many parts of Africa, the diseases of smoking are currently less prevalent than they are in the West.

Tobacco certainly makes money for the few who grow it but Africa's tragic history of disease will be further compounded if the promotional side of the industry "succeeds" to the extent it has in most other parts of the world. — Yours sincerely, (Dr) Simon Chapman, Emmstraat 9, 2595 EG The Hague, Netherlands.

### Miscellany at large

Sir,—The correspondence about "all carborundum" reminds me that when I taught English to the first two years of a grammar school and asked pupils to make up their own poetry, I several times received the well-known lines beginning, "I went to the pictures tomorrow, and took a front seat at the back..."

The authors were quite convinced that the lines were original and were either badly indignant or totally bewildered if I gently queried their good faith by asking where they had heard their poem and told them I had known it from childhood.

This is verging on the province of urban myth — the lines stolen under the laboratory door, etc. Is it clumsy or impious to disturb sincere convictions of originality and personal involvement in the witty or bizarre? — Yours, etc, Mary Ann Ebert, London.

Sir,—The successful candidate for the Chair in parapsychology ought to be the person who can correctly forecast who will get the job. — Yours faithfully, Jim Eccleston, 8 Kilmorie, Wiltshire, London.

Sir, In your report about the formation of the Employment Institute (April 18) you say that its aim is "to promote Keynesian policies." You also say that the campaign has the backing of a Mr James Callaghan.

Is this the same James Callaghan that told a Labour Party Conference of the late

seventies that "Keynesianism is dead"? — Yours (Mrs) Ida Evans, Birmingham.

Sir,—It is true that the people of South Africa desperately need economic and other pressure from Britain. What is tragic for them is that the Anti-Apartheid Movement in London is run by inept people, resulting in little pressure. G. Swaenpoel, London.

Sir,—Did Princess Michael really say "finding out your father was in the SS was devastating rather like discovering you are adopted"? What an insulting comparison! — Yours sincerely, P. James (Mrs), 11 Sandingham Park, Bristol.

## Why the Left has to decide how much it believes in liberty



Hugo Young

NEXT SATURDAY there will be a philosophical debate on some political importance. It will, if it is properly conducted, consider such questions as the definition of civil liberties, the conflict between individual and collective rights, the role of trade unions as a theatre for this conflict, and, the deepest issue, whether civil liberties are above party politics.

These questions are hardly new. And they are certainly not inappropriate to the annual general meeting of the National Council for Civil Liberties. But not the least interesting thing about them is that they have been so infrequently discussed on that occasion. The NCCL is in crisis, which is coming to head with a debate it ought to have had 30, some would say 50, years ago.

The crisis arises out of a conflict between two sets of people of more than average sincerity but less than equal sense. They represent, on the one hand, a selective, and on the other a tentatively principled approach to civil liberties. There is a minor issue, more symbolic than real. And there is a major issue, the resolution of which will determine whether NCCL has a serious future.

The symbolic issue concerns the National Front. It has generated an enormous amount of steam. Should the NCCL ever be willing to advise the NF when the various trading variants, this is a question which Saturday's AGM must address. Is the NCCL prepared to criticise the union as well as the police? The issue has been sharpened by another motion suggesting that the closed shop also infringes civil liberties. In short, prompted largely by Mr Gostin's desire to make NCCL change course, a showdown beckons.

Let me try to put the "left" case against him at its most respectable. As a matter of fact, most of its exponents are no more or less left-wing than Mr Gostin. But they contend, first that there is no real conflict between collective and individual rights, since all important individual rights have been gained by collective action. It is the collective struggle which expands liberty of all kinds. Therefore the struggle of the NUM was a struggle for civil liberties.

Alongside this is a second, even more political argument. It decrees that, since the whole of life is a struggle between the haves and the have-nots, it is incumbent on anything calling itself a libertarian body to side invariably with the have-nots. In the union context the message is simple. Anyone who supposes that the closed shop or union excesses might raise as great a threat to liberty as police misconduct is the victim of capitalist propaganda.

Anyone working for a trade union presumably finds these arguments decisive. The collectivist view is their unchanging perspective. Union professionals, with their money, have quite a lot of power in NCCL. There may be other members who believe strongly in the defence of collective rights.

The question, however, is a different one. What matters is not whether there is a conflict of rights, but whether it is the NCCL's primary job to make that case. Unions, too, can be oppressive forces. To workers who object to the closed shop, unions (and employers) who impose a union on their liberties are a menace to their liberties. It is seriously contended that it should be the task of the National Council for Civil Liberties to defend, or at best ignore, such oppressions?

Some people, regrettably, think so. They evidently include most of the unions with block-vote representation in NCCL. If they are asked to vote against the report because it "exceeded its terms of reference," these are weasel words. The real issue is whether NCCL is prepared to recognise even-handed libertarian principles, or whether it abandons itself to becoming yet another anti-Thatcherite groupuscule of marginal relevance.

NOBODY WOULD pretend that even-handedness is easy. A constant balancing-act is required between free expression and freedom from abuse, the right to demonstrate and the right to live in peace, and so forth. All rights can be reconciled only imperfectly. What matters is the stance from which the reconciliation is attempted. For NCCL, should it be the stance of the left, or a stance which aspires to political neutrality?

Quite apart from any moral imperative, pragmatic considerations make an overwhelmingly strong case for one direction. This is, at the moment, a democracy dominated by Conservatives. There are significant numbers of Conservative politicians who take libertarian questions seriously, and who would like to make common cause with those in other parties who do the same. These are not the free enterprise extremists, whose agenda has no connection with NCCL's, nor are they the immature fanatics of the Federation of Conservative Students, who seem to equate freedom with a free market in heroin, pornography and privatised coal mines. They are Tories with an interest — how deep an interest remains to be tested — in such mainstream issues as surveillance, privacy and equality of justice.

Today, by no accident, the all-party civil liberties committee of MPs holds its inaugural meeting, which will be addressed by the Home Secretary. Inspired by Mr Gostin and chaired by Geoffrey Rippon, it has many Tory members. But if the NCCL votes the left ticket on the strike report, it may become the shortest-lived all-party group in recent history. That would be a signal that the country's main exponent of the civil liberties case continues in fact, to be mainly interested in something else. The all-party group would wither away.

But the argument is not simply about keeping the right on board. It should be as persuasive on the left as well. The failure to observe basic libertarian principles was the cause of the left's greatest recent disaster, the collapse of the miners' strike. If there had been a ballot in March last year, the outcome would almost certainly have been different.

Coerced, the union divided. Offered a choice, it would have been united.

There are other gains to be made. How can the left profit from another body which does no more than parrot the well-worn prejudices of other left-wing bodies? There are plenty of big civil liberties issues on which the left agrees. Will the NCCL not espouse them as effectively if the influence it can bring to bear is precisely that of its own proven independence?

Consider, as an example, the prospective purge of subversive civil servants, on the looser definition of subversion now laid down by the prime minister. This is a classic challenge for the NCCL. Will it be met better by a body which has reaffirmed its one-sided view of the miners' strike, or one which speaks from a prime commitment to the apolitical principles which the purge will affront?

These are the hard-headed arguments. There is another like them. It says that if the union funding of NCCL will be at risk, since this constitutes about a quarter of the revenue, shouldn't self-interest alone induce a prudent respect for the demands of the brothers?

This is the least persuasive case of all. If that is the price of union participation, it would be better for NCCL to pack its bags. If the only purpose of collecting trade union money is to stay alive in order to propagate anti-libertarian ideas, bankruptcy is the better fate. It will not come to that, however, is not only possible. It is to be preferred — until unions become the supplicants not the arbiters of NCCL's approval.



Kent Barker on far from Capital ideas for radio finance

## Kite strings

FEW controversies can be so marked by a lack of hard facts as is the current argument over whether or not the BBC should be funded by advertising.

The supporters of the licence fee system argue that there is too little advertising money available to support the existing diversity of commercial radio, television and newspapers, let alone the extra billion or so pounds that would be needed to support a BBC stripped of its licence revenue.

The proponents of change argue that the net advertising revenue available would expand to fill the vacuum that the BBC's 82 years has created by a massive new outburst, and the extra costs to the ultimate consumer of the goods advertised would not be noticed or minded.

The trouble is that neither case can yet be proved, and although it's a sure bet that advertising company computers will be working overtime to connect their case for Professor Peacock's review of the BBC funding it is likely that only actual experience in the market place will ultimately decide. By then it could be too late.

So it is that the massive kite flown by Capital Radio managing director Nigel Walmsley on last week's Media Page is so dangerous. His astonishing assertion is that if every BBC radio outlet national and local — carried advertising in New Zealand and demographic spread thus opened up would be so attractive to advertisers that they would rush to spend more money. Yet not only is this theory not supported by any hard facts or conventional advertising wisdom, but it flies in the face of all commercial experience.

As one independent local radio manager recently said, his staff as he announced redundancies: "Commercial radio has now become a licence to lose money."

The theory that the current 30 per cent audience penetration rate by IRL is too low to attract sufficient advertisers, and that doubling the number of radio could quadruple its potential revenue, may be true.

But if that were to be achieved by commercialising the BBC, IRL managers know that it would be at the expense of other media outlets, such as newspapers, magazines and television. As one of the more experienced IRL managing directors privately confided last week:

"The cake is of a finite size, however much some people might prefer it not to be. Even accepting the argument that British advertisers' street only 2 per cent of their total spending to radio compared to 7 per cent in America, it is difficult to see how the Atlantic with such a sanguine gaze. Almost any listener in the US will agree that the higher proportion buys quantity rather than quality. Only speech output which compares to the BBC or the best of IRL comes from Public Service or Pacifica Foundation radio which is not funded by advertising."

This must surely be where the argument for advertising at the BBC falls down. The experience of all independent radio stations in Britain is that speech output, and in particular news and current affairs, is extremely expensive compared with music. Capital Radio itself in its early days closed its newsroom with the loss of more than 20 jobs because of financial constraints.

Since then it would be hard to find an independent radio station that has not either threatened to, or actually has, cut back on its journalistic output. The National Union of Journalists has been fighting a rearguard action to prevent news output being shared by a number of others in the region, arguing that it then ceases to be a local service.

All this, of course, ignores the other imponderable; what will be the effect on commercial television and the BBC media. Any plan to force BBC radio to accept advertising would not of course finance BBC television.

If this revenue were also to come from advertising, which although ignored must surely be the logical extension of Mr Walmsley's argument — then it is a fair bet that independent television stations like Border will start to feel the cold wind of money venging blowing towards them.

In the end it is extremely questionable whether purely commercial considerations are the most relevant to the argument anyway. The NUJ has no doubt that journalism will suffer both in quantity and quality in the inevitable battle for higher ratings.

Minority programming, drama, and specialist output would all inevitably be at risk — sacrificed on an ideological altar of self-sufficiency. Nigel Walmsley prepared to risk that as he recommends the removal of the baby along with the bathwater.

Kent Barker is a radio journalist who has worked on both Independent Local Radio and for the BBC. He is a member of the NUJ's Broadcasting Council.

DUBBED "Auntie" like her British equivalent, the ABC, Australia's public service broadcasting organisation, did some fine work in the seventies, but for the last decade she has done complacently, letting her ratings slip by at least half a per cent a year.

British programmes first shown on the ABC would get low ratings, but when the same shows were repeated on a commercial station, they would soar to the top, which says a lot about the Australian public's perception of the ABC. Thus over the years the three major commercial networks — 7, 3, and 10 — have virtually divided up the television audience between them and made Auntie seem at best a dotty old soul, at worst a feeble-minded pariah.

All that changed when 50-year-old Geoffrey Whitehead, one-time BBC political journalist (he was deputy editor to Peter Hardman from 1974) and former head of New Zealand Radio, became Managing Director on October 31, 1983. Never in the ABC's 82 years has there been such a major upheaval, executed with such speed.

Since May, Whitehead has set about the reorganisation of the ABC with an almost Bolshevik fervour in an effort to purge the place of its ossified ruling clique, dubbed the "claret pickled ponies" by their underlings.

Whitehead's other area of major concern has been to haul the ABC back into the public's consciousness and increase its ratings from a deplorable 12 per cent overall television viewing cake to 20 per cent in two years as well as increase the Australian content on television from 53 per cent to 65 per cent over three years.

He is a quietly spoken man who believes he was chosen for the top job because of his experience in New Zealand broadcasting. There the Broadcasting Corporation of New Zealand is partly funded by the Government and partly by its commercial activities.

"The need to earn money makes you very cautious about how you spend it," he says. "But I am not interested in spot advertising or sponsorship."

He does not think this combined system is a good one, seeing it as a "dangerous, slippery slope".

In 1975 BCNZ received 30 per cent of its funding through a licence fee from the Government and 50 per cent through advertising. Now the licence fee provides 18 per cent of its money and advertising 82 per cent.

"I think it's a prisoner of its own success," says Whitehead. "The licence fee has not been raised since 1975 because they performed so well commercially. There is no real inducement to increase the licence fee and the Government of the day won't commit itself to a per cent for basic funding."

But isn't this ideal for the consumer, still paying the same price for a licence fee as a decade ago? Not at all, says Whitehead. "The whole basic difference between commercial television and public service broadcasting becomes narrowed. What happens if advertising accounts for 95 per cent? Then the public service becomes more vulnerable to private sector take-overs."

Whitehead believes in applying management standards to the management of resources is one thing but going down the sponsorship path is quite something else.

Geoffrey Whitehead is the first to hold the post of managing director because the Australian Broadcasting Corporation only came into being on July 1, 1983 when the Australian Broadcasting Corporation Act was passed. Since 1932 it had been the Australian Broadcasting Commission, with a general manager (there were only three in 51 years) at its head and 11 directors on the board, which did not include the general manager.

Now, with no carry-over from the old Commission, there are eight directors, one of whom is Whitehead. For the first time in the ABC's history there is a corporate plan for the next three years, details of which will be completed by June. Planning will no longer be done solely by top management but it will be arrived at through a series of consultative workshops and seminars. There is also to be a controlled reduction of the 6,880 staff by 5 per cent, largely through attrition, as an ABC initiative, in an effort to avoid having staffing controls imposed by the Government.

He feels his years, first as a political journalist for Reuters and then on the BBC's political staff equipped him well for this role.

"Oh boy I would say so," he laughs. "If you watch Wilson and Heath and co. you certainly pick up some of the tricks."

At 6.30 pm, on Monday, March 4, after blowing his entire 1985 publicity budget of half a million dollars (£335,000) on two weeks' newspaper advertising, Richard Thomas set down with confidence to watch the start of the ABC National.

It is an hour-long news programme which came in to the tune of the Channel Four News theme and a budget of \$25 million, (£19 million). It has two pretty presenters, Geraldine Doogue who gets \$100,000 (£75,000) and Richard Morecroft who gets very much less.

But if Geoffrey Whitehead was employed to stir things up within the ABC, it is to his fellow countryman Richard Thomas, also 50, formerly BBC general features producer that most people look to see the revolutionary changes become an on-screen reality.

He became director, Television on August 30 last year. Thomas is a clear-headed individual passionately committed to public service television. The main thrust of his new-look television has been in the area of news and current affairs, now welded into one.

When I started here I was employed as an ice-breaker and a catalyst. I was really hired to stir things up a bit," he says. "I am now in a different stage of being a fixer negotiating with the Government, that's what I do. We at the ABC want to go in for three years boudoir but the Federal Government doesn't work like that."

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Whitehead: a shock for ABC

Australia's public service broadcasting hardly knows what has hit it. Rosalie Horner reports on the lessons of a TV revolution

## Why our Aussie Auntie bet the lot on the National



Presenters of the National: Geraldine Doogue and Richard Morecroft. The new faces of TV news in Australia.

The ABC received \$350 million (£283 million) for 1984-85 from the Government which is the equivalent of six pence (4p) from every Australian.

The licence fee system has proved unworkable in such a large, relatively sparsely populated country like Australia the size of the United States of America.

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but with the coming of the new regime and its philosophy of consultation at every level in the ABC, the staff have become sufficiently convinced to want to back Thomas in his plan, the belief that the whole image of the ABC will thus improve.

Even though the ABC may have been shaken and even stirred from top to bottom, it is not going to get any more money from the Government. It has very old equipment which needs replacing and many people at the ABC are housed in rented accommodation which is scattered over a wide area in Sydney, for example, there are 23 sites which makes the ABC one of the top taxi users.

This is a situation Whitehead wants to change as soon as possible.

"We are putting money into capital investment — technology and buildings — in a way that hasn't been done in 10 years," he says. "Last year 5 per cent of our budget was spent on capital, this year it's 7 per cent and next year 11 per cent."

Thomas is equally sanguine. "I want plenty of volume relatively cheaply," he says. "In the drama area I've limited the amount of period material, in light entertainment we are not going to do the big variety specials but will divert resources into scripting situation comedy."

"In sport we have a long way to go because we don't have the resources to cover the most popular sports like cricket which we have effectively cut out of and I don't see any point in competing with the commercial stations. I just have to recognise the facts of life. But I think if we're clever we will solve the problem because I believe that what counts are ideas. Some of the best programmes are really quite cheap. That's Life and The Great Egg Race are bright, intelligent ideas which work."

But he will not solve this financial crisis by buying in lots of cheap British and American material. His aim is to make programmes, but as cheaply as possible.



# INFORMATICS

the computer industry's leading management magazine has the following vacancies

## DEPUTY EDITOR

This appointment involves a broad range of responsibilities for a busy monthly schedule. Duties will include commissioning, writing and training of other staff writers. The successful applicant will also deputise during the editor's absence and contribute to a daily newsletter, the IDB, on an ad-hoc basis. Candidates should be journalists with magazine experience and a knowledge of the computer industry.

## SENIOR STAFF WRITER

This position involves writing feature and news analysis material for the monthly magazine and contributing regularly to the IDB daily newsletter. The job means working accurately to tight deadlines, so the successful candidate will already be an experienced journalist. Knowledge of the computer industry would be preferable, but is not essential. Salaries for both these appointments will be according to age and experience.

Applications, in writing, should be addressed to: David Banner, Editor, INFORMATICS, VNU Business Publications, 53-55 Fifth Street, London W1A 2HG. Please include a daytime telephone number.

## HEAD OF DESIGN



The National Gallery invites applications for the important post of Head of Design. Duties will include advising on building projects and liaising with architects assisting in the presentation of schemes to the Trustees design of Gallery decoration schemes and furnishings in conjunction with curatorial staff, design and installation of exhibitions and special displays, commissioning outside design work, advising Gallery departments on design matters, and day to day administration of a department of four.

Candidates must have a relevant qualification (normally degree or equivalent) in Design, preferably 3-D design. They should also have significant experience in exhibition or interior architectural design. Experience of museum or art gallery work advantageous. THIS APPOINTMENT IS FOR A LIMITED PERIOD OF FIVE YEARS.

Salary: As Curator Grade C, £12,815-£18,785. As Curator Grade D, £11,145-£14,440. Starting salary and level of appointment according to qualifications and experience. For further details and an application form (to be returned by 15th May, 1985) write to Mr. W. P. Kenward, National Gallery, Trafalgar Square, London WC2N 5DN, or telephone 01-339 3321, Ext. 217. An Equal Opportunity Employer.

## ASSISTANT PRESS OFFICER

An exciting new opportunity to work in the Press Office extending knowledge and understanding of the RSPB's diverse work with birds and conservation.

The main responsibilities will be making contacts and getting coverage for national and regional news stories and developing the RSPB's feature coverage. There will be plenty of scope for using ideas and initiative in a small team.

Applicants should be at least 25 with a good education. 3-4 years experience in journalism or related activity is essential, with a proven ability to write for a wide range of media. A knowledge of birds and conservation issues is also important (with a related science background if possible). The ability to communicate well is vital, as is a flexible approach to the needs of the work. A driving licence is necessary - some travel is a regular part of the job.

Salary Scale: £6,963 - £10,521. Starting salary will be according to experience and qualifications. Application form and details send SAE to: Personnel, RSPB, The Lodge, Sandy, Beds SG19 2DL.

## CAMEROON AIRLINES SALES REPRESENTATIVE

The successful applicant will have a minimum of four years' relevant experience and an average knowledge of French. Salary negotiable according to age and experience. Applications by cv to The Area Manager, Cameroon Airlines, 44 Conduit Street, London W1R 9FB.

## REPORTER

For corporate publishing division of international PR consultancy, still expanding. To work on client company newspapers and magazines. Newspaper reporting experience essential. Subbing and layout skills desirable. Able to work fast on a variety of subjects, handle interviews from chairman to scientist and take in tightly written articles. Excellent opportunity for young journalist to join thoroughly professional team.

Apply in writing and CV to Michael Anderson, Managing Director, EWP, Ruxley Towers, Claygate, Esher, Surrey KT11 1BHZ. Telephone: Esher 07333. Tel. 0290941.

## JOURNALISM TRAINING

The National Council for the Training of Journalists needs an additional senior member of staff to assist with its short course programme and other work.

Essential qualifications: Substantial and varied experience of newspaper journalism. Interest in, and ideas on training.

Desirable qualifications: Administrative experience. Teaching experience.

Salary package around £11,000 (plus generous pension and 5 weeks holiday).

For further details of post, apply to: The Director, N.C.T.J., Carlton House, Hamel Street, Epping, Essex, CM16 4NL.

## Wanted for Local Tabloid Weeklies

JOURNALIST WITH INTEREST IN PUZZLES AND COMPETITIONS.

Based London, near Euston Station. Must have top class experience of tabloid layout, be able to devise simple contests and write snappy copy. Salary negotiable.

Apply in writing to: Aubrey Morris, News and Features Editor, 241 Euston Road, London, NW1 3AF.

## SALES EXECUTIVE

Required in company promotional field to service top industrial clients. Promotion, advertising, design & sales administration experience useful.

Top salary & benefits. Apply in writing, C.V. to: Managing Director, Marks of Distinction Limited, 241 Euston Road, London NW1.

## Assistant Public Relations Officer

LEEDS up to £12,727

This is an excellent opportunity for a journalist, house, journal editor, or deputy editor, to widen their experience in Public Relations.

The job holder will be responsible for production of the Region's monthly employees' newspaper through all stages, including reporting, subbing, lay-out and liaison with printers. This work also involves participation in other aspects of the Public Relations Section's duties which will include media enquiries, briefing external organisations, speech writing, assisting with internal promotions and campaigns and responsibility for a range of publications for user departments. He/she will be required to share in an out-of-office hours 'standby' information service for the media, and possess a clean, current driving licence.

Journalistic qualifications and proven editorial experience, preferably on a daily newspaper, are essential together with shorthand/typing skills and familiarity with newspaper production processes. Experience of video script writing and production would be an advantage.

Salary will be in the range £11,003 to £12,727 per annum. We are an Equal Opportunity Employer and our terms and conditions fully reflect our position as a major force in British industry. Relocation expenses will be paid where applicable.

Apply by letter quoting reference 429 and giving full personal details and career history to date to: The Recruitment Officer, NEGAS, Regional Office, New York Road, Leeds LS2 7PE.

Closing date for applications is 3rd May 1985.

## NORTH EASTERN GAS

## DO YOU APPEAL TO PEOPLE? THEN COME AND APPEAL FOR US...

War on Want is Britain's fastest growing third world development agency, tackling the causes of poverty in Asia, Africa and Central America. We are appointing 2 APPEALS OFFICERS. We are looking for creative and imaginative people with flair to develop existing and new ways of raising money for War on Want's programmes and campaigns.

Experience in charity fundraising, public relations or advertising is desirable but not essential. Salary £10,141.

For job description and application form please send see to: The Personnel Office, War on Want, 1 London Bridge Street, London SE1.

Closing date for returned application forms is Friday, 17th May, 1985.

WAR ON WANT IS AN EQUAL OPPORTUNITIES EMPLOYER.

## COUNCIL OF THE BOROUGH OF HARROGATE Department of Resort Services HARROGATE CENTRE SENIOR TECHNICIAN

To take responsibility for the detailed organisation and supervision of the setting-up operation and maintenance of lighting, sound, video and audio-visual equipment in the Harrogate Centre (2,000 seats), Royal Hall (1,350 seats) and Royal Baths Assembly Rooms (four medium sized halls). Opportunities occur for both lighting and sound design work.

A specific responsibility is the operation of a planned maintenance programme on £1.5m worth of technical production equipment. Applicants should be qualified to degree standard in Electrical and/or Electronic Engineering and have at least five years experience at a supervisory level in the entertainment or presentation industries.

The salary is £25,532 - £29,114 (Scale 6 - pay award due 1.7.85) for a 37 hour rostered week. Overtime is payable and there is four weeks annual leave. Assistance with re-location expenses in appropriate cases and temporary housing accommodation may be available.

Application forms and further details are available from: Personnel Officer, Council Offices, Crescent Gardens, Harrogate, N. Yorkshire or telephone (0423) 68954 Ext. 293. Closing date - Tuesday May 7th 1985. Interviews week commencing May 13th 1985.

## SUNDERLAND POLYTECHNIC Faculty of Art and Design Department of Applied Studies PRINCIPAL LECTURER IN VISUAL INFORMATION DESIGN

Salary: £13,095-£14,580 bar £16,467 (under review)

The Polytechnic seeks to appoint a Course Leader for the B-Tec Higher National Diploma in Visual Information Design. Candidates should be familiar with the role and aims of B-Tec should have a wide range of professional experience and skills, an ability to promote the interests and aspirations of the course to commercial, industrial and research organisations and a commitment to the development of Computer Aided Design and Audio Visual Communication techniques.

An application form and further particulars may be obtained from Personnel Officer, Sunderland Polytechnic, Langham Tower, Ryhope Road, Sunderland, SR2 7EL, or telephone (0783) 76231, Ext. 11. Closing date: 6 May, 1985.

## GUARDIAN

If you can do it, why not teach it? There are lots of jobs in universities, polys, schools, and colleges in Education

Guardian every Tuesday. You could learn something from it.

YOU CAN FIND IT IN THE GUARDIAN

## Editor

**Middle East Computing**  
Due to internal transfer, a new Editor is required for Middle East Computing. In the last 18 months the journal has increased frequency, circulation and staffing. Future plans call for fast growth to be sustained and new projects launched. The position is an outstanding opportunity for the right person.

As Editor you will be responsible for identifying market and reader requirements; writing, commissioning and editing accordingly; and contributing to the publishing policy of a small but successful and ambitious journal team. You should be already conversant with computing and ideally have several years in journal publishing. Knowledge of the Middle East is not essential. The job is based at Sutton, Surrey but involves travel in the Middle East, USA and Europe.

Salary: £13,250 p.a. (in accordance with NUJ/BPI Agreement), plus this year's annual review, 5 weeks holiday per year; pension scheme and subsidised restaurant. Please write enclosing curriculum vitae, or phone: Sue Jarman, Head Business Publishing Development, Times House, Thimbleway Way, Sutton, Surrey SM1 4AE. Tel: 01-861 8700.

Business Press International is an Equal Opportunities Employer.

## BUSINESS PRESS INTERNATIONAL

## REPORTER

Radio Newcastle

Have you got what it takes to work on Wearside? If so, Radio Newcastle, the voice of the North East, is looking for a reporter to work out of their busy Sunderland studio. The work is primarily reporting, interviewing and bulletin writing. At least three years' journalistic experience, good microphone voice and current driving licence essential. Salary £8,038 - £9,552 (currently under review) plus allowance of £537 p.a. Relocation expenses considered.

Contact us immediately for application form (quote ref. 2386/G and enclose s.a.e.): BBC Appointments, London W1A 1AA. Tel. 01-927 5799.

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## BBC LOCAL RADIO

## VNU SCIENCE PRESS ASSISTANT MARKETING MANAGER

VNU Science Press BV is a young and rapidly expanding scientific publishing house in the Netherlands near Amsterdam. It is one of the operating subsidiaries of VNU (United Dutch Publishing Companies) which employs over 9,000 staff and has annual sales of US \$460 million.

The rapid expansion of our publishing programme in both books and journals has created a need to recruit an Assistant Marketing Manager.

The successful candidate, responsible to the Marketing Manager, will be involved in all aspects of the department's activities which include direct mail promotion, conference exhibitions and advertising. Candidates should have previous experience within the Marketing department of an STM publisher. Whilst not essential, an academic background in a science subject would be an additional asset.

This appointment will offer an attractive salary (including profit sharing) relocation costs and assistance in finding suitable accommodation is guaranteed.

For information please telephone Alison Gendley (Marketing Manager) on 0161-345-033/3451.

Send your application and CV to VNU SCIENCE PRESS, Attn: Marien Stoevenbold, Personnel Dept., P.O. Box 2073, 5800 GB UTRECHT, THE NETHERLANDS.

## LEEDS PLAYHOUSE

This successful repertory theatre, which will be moving to a new building in 1986, requires a PUBLICITY OFFICER.

He/she will work closely with the Marketing Manager in promoting all aspects of the theatre, including the new theatre development and a thriving subscription scheme. He/she will be particularly responsible for consolidating media relations and improving the profile of the theatre in the national press.

Previous publicity experience and a keen interest in theatre preferred. A competitive salary will be paid. Full job description available from: The Administrator, Leeds Playhouse, Calverley St., LEEDS LS2 3AJ. Tel. (0532) 447141.

Applications, with full CV and two referees, to be received by 7 May. Interviews on 17 May.

## SALES EXECUTIVE TO SELL THE BEST SMASH HITS

Smash Hits needs a bright, talented and confident salesperson to sell our new range of cassette tapes and CDs. The most essential requirements are: the ability to deal with the public at all levels. And the skill to get to know a company to identify its needs and explain clearly and persuasively how Smash Hits can help.

Please write a letter about yourself, with full CV to Carol Harris, 52-55 Carnaby Street, London W1V 1JF. (No telephone applications please).

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## ONLINE THE LEISURE INFORMATION COMPANY requires SPORTS INFORMATION OFFICER

with high motivation, energy and commitment for New Sports Information Services for Londoners

A good knowledge of sport in the London region, experience of working with information systems and a flair for phone line work are essential. Applicants will be preferably qualified in Librarianship or information science. Shift system involves some weekend work. Salary £7,000-£7,856 per annum. Further details and application form from Online Leisure Information, 44 Earlham Street, London WC2H 8LA. Tel: 01-322 4540.

Online Leisure Information is an equal opportunities employer. All applicants are considered on the basis of suitability for the job irrespective of disability, race, sex or marital status.

## MUSIC SECRETARY Part-time

required at St. Martin-in-the-Fields Church. Full details from: Master of Music, 5 St. Martin's Place, London WC2N 4JJ.

## REHEARSAL STUDIOS BOOK-KEEPER

experienced to trial balance, happy with computers, self starter. Good salary. TEL: 01-629 6183.

TVS, the ITV programme company serving the South and South East of England is planning to expand the role played by its Community Unit and to meet this challenge seeks to appoint:

## Schools Liaison Officer

This post will be based at the TVS Television Centre in Southampton and will suit someone who has obtained a degree and teaching qualification and who can also demonstrate some practical experience in teaching. A knowledge of the use of broadcasting within the schools and education areas would be a distinct advantage, although it is not essential. Ref no: 11/S/85

## Asst. Continuing & Community Education Officer/Schools Liaison Officer

This position will be based at the TVS studio centre in Maidstone, Kent. Applications are invited from those who have degrees and proven experience in adult education and/or social work. It would also be a distinct advantage if candidates were familiar with the role that broadcasting plays within adult and school education. Over and above this, a knowledge of how the voluntary and community services sector operates and the ability to discuss often complex issues at all levels, will be regarded as a valuable attribute. Ref no: 16/SE/85

Both vacancies are within the Community Unit which is part of the TVS Programme Division. Salary will be circa £10,000 and include the use of a company car, together with other benefits associated with a large company. If you think that you fit the bill, please apply in writing, quoting the appropriate reference number and giving full details of education and experience, to:

Southampton based vacancy: Personnel Manager, TVS, Television Centre, Northam, Southampton, SO9 5HZ

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PATRICK LAURENCE  
on South Africa's move  
towards reform

## Botha's second thought

PRESIDENT P W Botha may have taken a first hesitant step toward a federal solution of South Africa's problems with his declaration in parliament that he was no longer committed to the policy of dispossession of blacks of South African citizenship when their designated "homelands" attain independence.

His announcement coincided with an invitation to opposition parties to serve on the special cabinet committee examining how to meet the political aspirations of blacks living permanently outside their assigned "homelands".

The invitation was quickly accepted by the leader of the opposition in the white chamber, Dr Frederik van Zyl Slabbert, whose progress party is strongly committed to a federalism. It was similarly accepted by the tiny New Republic Party, whose policy is partially embracing federalism.

Significantly, the invitation was spurned by Dr Andries Treurnicht's ultra-rightist Conservative Party, which, as the heir of the Afrikaner tradition of complete political separation between the races, is hostile to federalism as a form of racial power-sharing.

The upshot is that the inclination towards federalism in the special cabinet committee will be boosted by the participation of the PPF and the NRP without being countered by the influence of the CP.

Officially, of course, President Botha is committed to the formation of a confederation between South Africa and the "black homelands", all ten of which are destined to become nominally independent in terms of the original blueprint drawn up by the high priest of "grand apartheid", Dr Hendrik Verwoerd.

But confederation per definition means an association between separate sovereign states, each with their own citizenship. Mr Botha's statement, with its inference of a common citizenship for all South Africans, is clearly inimical to confederation.

Political reordering of relations between dominant whites and subordinate blacks within the framework of a common citizenship is a power-sharing within a single state, however much the ruling National Party may for political reasons try to camouflage it.

Given the NP's fear of black majority rule within a centralised state, re-structuring is likely to take place within a federal model rather than in unitary paradigm.

Two factors appear to have impelled Mr Botha to take a guarded step away from confederation to federation: the collapse, under the pressure of rebellion in the townships, of black local authorities and the adamant refusal of several key "black homelands" including KwaZulu with a resident population of four million, to accept Pretoria's offer of independence.

Established in 1983 under the black local authorities act, the new black township councils in white-designated South Africa were meant to serve as partial compensation to blacks for their exclusion from the new tri-racial parliament for whites, coloureds and Indians.

But the relentless popular pressure in the townships, they have all but disintegrated. According to the latest official count nearly 150 townships have been renamed. Several have been brutally murdered by black mobs. Of the 34 councils introduced in 1983, only six are still functioning according to the urban foundation.

As long as blacks are excluded from participation in central government, black local authorities will lack credibility and viability. Hence the need for change at the top of the political pyramid to provide a place for blacks and, thereby, to help bring an end to the on-going rebellion in the townships.

The refusal of leaders of several key non-independent "homelands" to accept independence has confronted Mr Botha with an impasse in his quest to establish a confederation. Of these leaders, the most important is chief Gatsha Buthelezi, chief minister of KwaZulu.

Zulu followers account for a quarter of South Africa's 24-million blacks.

Chief Buthelezi, who heads the powerful Inkhatha movement, has declared that he is prepared to accept a non-racial federation as a compromise solution between black hopes for, and white fears of, a strongly centralised state based on universal adult suffrage.

These developments have taken place amid reports that the Department of Planning is reappraising the three-year-old Buthelezi Commission report.

Published in 1982, the report recommended a form of power-sharing between black and white in the Natal region. Originally it was rejected by Mr Botha's administration. Now, however, it is under reconsideration.

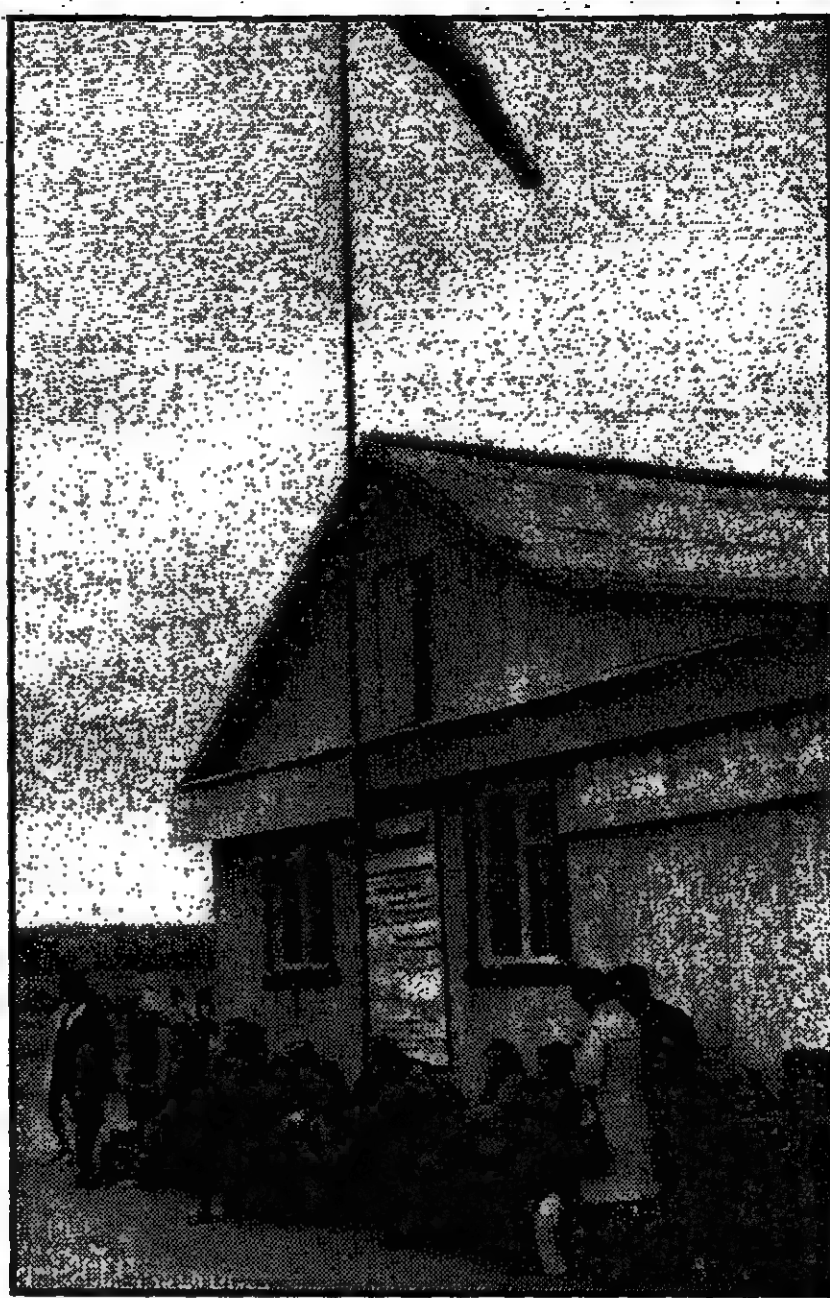


## THE FROZEN FRONTIER

In the first of a series, MARTIN WALKER reports from the Soviet eastern front

# Moscow's tender touch in Siberia

Top, a typical Siberian new town. Right, waiting to fly out end, below, a street scene in Irkutsk. Map by David Turner



VASILY Sitnikov runs a region of Siberia that is as big as France and Britain put together, and recently he was standing in front of a televised public meeting of more than 700 villagers and answering questions from the floor.

In the Soviet Union, this experiment in open government is unusual, almost revolutionary. But then Vasily Sitnikov has been the secretary of the Irkutsk Oblast for less than two years. He was given the job, as a relatively young man of 55, when Mikhail Gorbachev was supervising key appointments to the regional governments. To comprehend what kind of internal changes the Gorbachev era is likely to bring, the reforms in Irkutsk are a good place to start.

The vast Irkutsk region contains fewer than three million people. Most of them live either in the capital city of Irkutsk which has been the centre of Siberian communications since the first trans-Siberian railway was built nearly 80 years ago, or they live in the staggering network of new cities and industrial belts that have been thrust upon the inhospitable Taima over the last three decades.

The first public meeting that Vasily Sitnikov called was held on the shopfloor of a big cable factory. Most of his audience were not party members, but they gave him a respectful hearing. For 30 minutes he talked about the plans for the region, and what they would mean for their lives. Then he introduced his staff, the men in charge of housing, of food supplies, of consumer goods distribution and so on.

"Any questions I cannot answer, one of my staff should be able to reply," Sitnikov said. "And if we cannot give you an immediate answer, we will give you an answer in writing within the week."

The questions came fast enough. If the targets for the new house-building were being met, why was there still such a shortage? People coming to Siberia to work had been promised not only higher pay, but also a good and regular supply of food — where were the fresh fruits and vegetables that had been promised? Why was there still a problem with consumer goods, one woman worker wanted to know. In particular, why was there such a rotten range of pertumes in the local stores?

Sitnikov gave the answers of a professional politician, lucidly explaining the difficulties of supplying food and consumer goods to a region that is entirely dependent on air transport and the river system, and promising improvement. But the significant feature of these public meetings is that they take place at all, and that they are televised throughout the region.

For some years now, Soviet leaders have been talking of "extension of Soviet democracy" and it has been hard to pin any official down to a definition of what this nebulous phrase means. In the course of two extended interviews, Vasily Sitnikov made the attempt.

He began by saying that the USSR was now an advanced industrial economy with a highly educated population. This meant that the party has succeeded in its first task, and that they need impose a new and rather different role on the party.

"The party's task has always been to lead, and to set the country's direction. But now we must combine initiatives with a readiness to listen to people — to individuals as well as to the collective voice of the people in their Soviets and trade unions. In the party, and in the economy, we want a modern style of leadership, people with a wider view than simply fulfilling production targets, leaders who realise that our job is to improve the quality of people's lives across a very wide range," he said.

"We cannot as the party, and nor can I as a First Secretary, do this on our own. We have to delegate tasks, delegate responsibility, and we have to talk things through with people. The party's role, and my role, is to be the conductor of the orchestra. We can't play all the instruments on our own. Above all, decisions should not be taken in private," he added.

Only the most glibly Western visitor would take this at face value. Ever since Stalin announced that his 1936 constitution made the Russians into "the freest people in the world," there has been a glaring gap between what is promised and what is put into Soviet practice. But there are three reasons to think that in Sitnikov's Siberian province, at least, that gap is narrowing sharply.

The first is that Sitnikov is a Gorbachev man, who talked with unusual animation of "the thrilling experience in the Central Committee plenum when we elected Gorbachev to the leadership." Sitnikov worked closely with Gorbachev when he ran the agriculture portfolio at the central committee, and waxed almost lyrical about his "penetrating mind, his decisive manner, his clear view of the reforms we need to make, and his capacity to inspire people."

The second is that Siberia is different, and always has been. Ever since the Cossacks were first unleashed across the Ural mountains in the sixteenth century to probe into Russia's huge and rich hinterland, Siberia has been a place where Moscow's orders and Moscow's constraints have been interpreted fairly freely by the men on the spot.

Siberia has something of a free-thinking tradition, passed on by the Decembrists, that generation of aristocratic revolutionaries whom the Tsar exiled to the shores of Lake Baikal after their abortive coup of December 1825. The Decembrists set up schools, literary and philosophical circles, and founded a dissident alternative culture of which even today you can find echoes.

It was native Siberians who launched the astonishing protest movement against the pollution of Lake Baikal, and succeeded in halting plans for more industrial development on its shores. They are currently waging an increasingly successful campaign against Moscow's plans to develop the city of Irkutsk, and demolish the charming old city of log cabins in the process.

The third reason for taking Sitnikov's reformist talk seriously is that his job may well depend on it, just as the future of the whole Soviet economy depends on Siberia's raw materials. The fact is that the traditional Soviet method of developing Siberia has gone about as far as it can. The grandiose plans for hydro-electric stations and huge factories and brave new cities have been fulfilled. The shock brigades of keen young communists have been imported to build them — but now the people are starting to run out.

Over the past decade, Siberia has suffered a decline in population. Even in the Irkutsk region, where the new cities and new factories have

prevented this decline, there are now more people retiring from work than new ones joining the labour force.

To attract people, the state has guaranteed people who work in Siberia salaries that can be quite astronomical by Soviet standards. As soon as you start work, your salary will be 50 per cent higher than it would have been for the same job in Moscow. And every year for five years, you get another 10 per cent rise. On top of that is a guarantee of a flat, and every three years, air tickets for the whole family to anywhere in the USSR or socialist bloc.

In the more remote areas, and for vital jobs like welding the pipelines, salaries can be four or even five times the Moscow rate. But these incentives are no longer enough, and indeed, have created two further problems. First, the high wages have attracted contract workers, young people who

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## Why Bognor is still game for a laugh

JOHN VIDAL joins the clowns in conference at the joke resort of the South

IN one of British entertainment's more inspired moments Bognor Regis, "home of the sandiest beaches between Dover and Southampton," this weekend became Britain's official clown town — a title many might think it had held for years.

Even before George V arrived back in London after a dose of pneumonia, reputedly muttering "bugger Bognor," the name had endeared itself to the public. In its heyday more than half a million deckchairs would be rented out in a good season and the town's theatres would swell nightly.

But if Bognor declined, its joke image somehow didn't — a fact the town is now beginning to exploit. Thanks to Bingo the clown, one Trevor Pharo, sales director, family man and loyal Bognorite, the town was chosen to host Britain's first International Clown Convention.

Trevor made his proposal with a vision of mayhem. His idea was for clowns to gather and, as it were, compare noses, and for Bognor itself to take a great leap backwards into its own mythology and, for a weekend

at least, actually become the joke it had always been perceived to be.

"I knew it would be all right when the police offered to put on funny noses," said Dick Cohen, Arun Council's project officer. "Bognor always had a music hall image. It's a bit of a seaside joke, really, so we decided to take it one step further. The town has responded magnificently."

And how. Most towns of Bognor's size — population 50,000 — can neither physically or mentally handle the arrival, in one go, of more than a few newcomers. But Bognor is different. The sight of 120 dedicated fools all garishly dressed and up to 12-foot tall walking through the town was positively inspirational.

Bognor people know the problems of being laughed at. This was a meeting of minds, a welcome home. The children cheered, the adults waved and the policemen, red noses and all, metaphorically rolled over and let their tumbs be tickled as the intrusions of this ragtag party of law and disorder became clear.

Riotous assembly was encouraged. Clowns were to direct traffic and misdirect the police, squad cars were to be pushed around, music was to be played loudly and at will, kids were to be accosted and encouraged to accept sweets from strange men. In short, the ordinary rules of south coast decorum were to be suspended.

"I welcome them with open arms," said Mrs Margaret Tullett, chair of the Arun District Council who was sporting a funny gold chain round her neck. "It's the best thing that has ever happened here. I hope they keep coming back."

But beneath the self-congratulatory purring of the council and the tourist board for a well organised and very well supported weekend of performance, street theatre and exhibitions, more serious issues were rumbling. The clown profession, led by Clowns International, a loosely knit, charity oriented fraternity of funny men is eager to step back into the limelight after many lean years in the shade of television.

Not so long ago every child in the land knew of Coco, Carol and the Frantellis. Clowns, lately have been struggling for recognition. The world may love them but not the world wants to employ them.

"Our children are going out of the business," says Bob Fossett, Professor Grumble to the trade. As one of Britain's most eminent circus clowns he's about to play his first season at the Blackpool Tower circus, home for 30 years of the legendary Charlie Caserio. "There are," he says, "clowns and clowns. You see people dressed as clowns but they're not. Either you've got it or you haven't and there's nothing worse than someone who hasn't got it trying. Over the years the public has been conned."

"The clown is a very serious person. Circus is a living, breathing thing. I'd like to see the standards kept very high. It's the last form of true family entertainment; it will always be there, like panto and Santa."

And Bognor? "And Bognor".



The clowns give Bognor police a push. Picture by Paul Mares



## The junk that could put an entire financial system on the scrapheap



## AMERICAN NOTEBOOK

Alex Brummer

IT'S BREAKFAST time in America: our average consumer rolls downstairs, pours orange juice from his National Can container and cereal from a Crown Zellerbach carton. He ambles over to his television set and turns on the CBS morning show and quickly finds himself watching a commercial

break plugging Lorimar's next episode of Dallas. He can't take any more of this so he switches to ABC which is busy promoting the evening's premier of 20th Century Fox's "Return of the Jedi".

On his way to his Chrysler car, with new Uniroyal tyres, he picks up his local newspaper published by Capital Communications. It's then off to the garage for a fill-up with Phillips petrol and a quart of Unocal oil. At the office he makes a call through the MCI system before meeting friends at the local Hilton. That evening he rolls dice at a Golden Nugget casino.

The man on America's main street has unwittingly been on an odyssey through the tangled web of debt, paper, junk bonds, and junk bonds, which is fast becoming modern corporate America. The takeover fever which gripped the oil industry more than a year ago has spread like wildfire to the rest of the stock market. The US economic recovery has become weaker the corporate raiders, bandits and

arbitrageurs have become bolder.

The proliferation of paper bids, like the collapse of government bond brokers ES&M Securities and Bevil, Brader and Schulman, are symptoms of an increasingly vulnerable financial system. The sleek which connects the collapsed security broker to the corporate raider is the greed of investors for higher yields even if it means accepting lower quality bonds.

The extra quarter-of-a-point yield which Home State savings in Ohio received when it put its depositors' funds in the hands of ES&M Securities was no bargain, as ordinary savers in Ohio can safely testify. The so-called "junk bonds", the securities used by the new breed of corporate predators, are given low quality ratings by Wall Street. A reason is that the company is forced to liquidate, the holders of the junk bonds, with their 16 per cent yields, will find themselves at the back of the queue of creditors.

What then are these junk bonds which pose a potential threat to the sound working

of the financial system? They are the deadly form of financing used by the raiders to swallow large successful corporations. The objective of the exercise is to put together a package of high-yielding bonds, with a notional value far higher than the target company's share price, and to eventually use the income from the acquired corporation to pay the yields and dividends.

It's a brilliant concept which gives the smaller company the glorious opportunity to gobble up its larger competitor. Without the junk bond, Fred Turner, the businessman who bought the Atlanta television magnate, would not stand a remote chance of moving in on CBS. Nor would Lorimar, the small \$104 million film production company which makes Dallas, even be able to contemplate a one-billion dollar takeover of the Multimedia Group.

The power of the junk bond, more formally known as the high yielding security, is awesome. Saul Steinberg used them to "greenmail" Walt Disney last year. Carl Icahn used them to force a

capital reorganisation plan on Phillips Petroleum in February and is now deploying the same weapon in the mugging of Uniroyal. Boone Pickens, the cowboy of Texas, is using them to gobble Unocal. And Sir James Goldsmith has swapped his British paper chain of the early seventies for American junk bonds in the eighties, to make his assault on Crown Zellerbach.

Junk bonds are the magic potion which allow the minor to effortlessly swallow the great blue whale. The secret formula was the brainchild of Drexel Burnham. It first used the technique in 1984 when Boone Pickens tipped his cap at Gulf Oil. At the last count, it has brought to fruition six similar deals. Drexel's skill is its ability to draw on a broad group of investors willing to take up the chase and frighten the target company to death so they pay the raiders off or find a white knight.

While the raiders like Pickens and Steinberg have captured the headlines and

caught the attention of Congress, their activities would not be possible without the Drexel pool of investors. The bigger the price the larger the number of investors which have to be drawn in. But the cast of characters is often the same.

They include the Belberg family of Canada, operating through a variety of corporate names; others in this group are Charles Knapp's Summit, Gene Phillips's Southern Corporation, and Fred Carr's Executive Life Insurance company. The job of Drexel is to rally them round when the front men make their play. It is not small business: since the junk bond became America's most fashionable source of takeover finance, it is estimated that some \$50 to \$70 billion of paper has been issued. A sum equal to the crippling debt of a Mexico or Brazil — which three years ago paralysed the world banking system.

Much of the criticism of the raiders has focused on the idea that fine old companies are being gobbled up or broken by share dealers only

interested in making a quick turn. It is this view of events which has led to the tightening of bills on Capitol Hill aimed at protecting companies from CBS to Unocal from unwanted attentions. Indeed, much of corporate America, anticipating the raiders, has been active in building defences such as the so-called "poison pill" issues of securities which all but make mergers prohibitive.

However, as the raiders quite rightly point out this can be an interference with shareholders' rights. It can serve inefficient management who are able to avoid their fiduciary responsibilities. Like the infamous non-voting "B" shares in Britain, poison pills are in conflict with the essentially democratic principle of one share, one vote. The real way of dismantling the raiders is not to interfere with the traditional rules of the market place but to ensure that the paper spawned for hostile bids is not junk. This could be done by making it illegal

for federally or state regulated financial institutions, pension funds and other bodies to hold sub-standard paper without a proper credit rating.

Unless such controls are introduced soon it is not hard to imagine an alarmist scenario across the country could be burnt. The Reagan attack on the deficit, the dollar tumbles, interest rates soar and the US economy, already slowing, goes into a nosedive.

Merged corporations which had counted on boom years profits to make the interest rate payments on junk bonds would be faced with an economy in which earnings were sharply curtailed. As interest and dividend payments became more difficult to meet the grim alternatives would be first divestment of assets, then perhaps default. Under such circumstances institutions holding billions of dollars of junk bonds might be threatened, potentially endangering the very fabric of the financial system.

Continuation proposed despite veto of pipeline plan

## Ulster gas industry stays defiant

By our own Correspondent

Northern Ireland's gas industry is set to continue operating in spite of the government's announcement that it will no longer underwrite its losses. Earlier this month, Dr Rhodes Boyson, the Northern Ireland industry minister, vetoed a revised plan to import natural gas by pipeline from the Irish Republic and said that the government's deficit support would be withdrawn from the end of May.

But as Mr Billy Bell, the Official Unionist chairman of Belfast City Council's gas committee, which is responsible for the Belfast Gas Company, the province's largest, pointed out: "The minister hasn't instructed us to close down". His all-party committee is unanimously in favour of continuing operations and will be

making a recommendation to that effect to the full council on May 1. With the province's local government elections due soon afterwards, it is thought that the proposal has a good chance of success.

"We would simply be going bankrupt," said Mr Bell. "We cannot raise the money from the rates, so the government would have to step in."

At a meeting last week, six unions — including EETPU, GMB, CU, the AUEW and the TCUW — agreed to keep the province's entire network running and withhold the technical information which would be needed by the Northern Ireland Office to close it down. Employers and unions are pressing for a meeting with the Northern Ireland Secretary, Mr Douglas Hurd, this week to urge him to reverse the decision. They argue that

the industry's £13 million a year losses do not justify the £37 million the government would have to spend to close down or the 1,200 jobs that will be lost in the process.

But sources at the Northern Ireland Gas Industry Working Group, which has no chance of Mr Hurd overturning the decision of his subordinate. They dismissed the industry's threats as "sabre rattling".

Last month, the Northern Ireland Gas Industry Working Group — made up of the unions and the 13 gas companies — proposed a £30.2 million capital expenditure plan to import gas from the south as a way of replacing expensive town gas supplies. They claimed it would make a profit and provide cheaper gas for more consumers. Only £3.9 million of government

money would have been needed, with the rest from the EEC and the European Investment Bank loans.

But on Good Friday Dr Boyson vetoed the plan on the grounds that loan guarantees would need a total government input of £70 million and a viable gas industry could not be set up.

The latest scheme was a scaled-down version of an earlier plan to import gas from the Republic, cancelled last September by the UK government after three years of negotiations, because of disagreements over price and quantity.

Many in Northern Ireland believe that lignite mining around Lough Neagh by a UK strip mining consortium has been chosen as an alternative to the development of the gas industry.

## Business bites in Japan

From Robert Whyman in Tokyo

IN JAPAN some of the most vigorous critics of the conservative government are found not in the opposition ranks but in the business community that helps maintain the liberal democrats in power.

A new report by Nikkeiren (the federation of employers' associations) is a forthright reminder that the hands that feed Mr Nakasone's party with huge donations are not altogether happy with its performance.

State interventionism and the bloated public sector are, of course, favourite targets in the business world's crusade against the corporate tax increases (direct or indirect) threatened for some years. But the new report by the powerful employers' organisation, entitled "Towards a More Vital Society", carries the attack further, inveighing against waste in the Diet (parliament) and profligate politicians, and even questioning their motives.

"The number of members, their salaries, everything they do every day, they make—others their self interest," declares the report, calling for reforms in the legislative branch. Denouncing members of parliament "who place their own re-election ahead of the national interest," the report urges legislators for players' organisation awarding themselves a salary increase this fiscal year of 10 per cent, more than twice the national average increase.

## Queen's awards for 119

By our Industrial Editor

A total of 90 British firms have been given the Queen's award for export achievement and a further 29 for technological achievement. The 119 awards for 1985 compare with the 111 given last year and followed applications from well over 1,000 companies.

Britain's successful drug and pesticide firms have been recognised. Boots won a technological award for the discovery and development of Ibuprofen, the painkiller used to fight arthritis, and Celtech, the UK's challenger in the world race for dominance in commercial genetic engineering, also won a technological award.

ICL picked up an award for computer design expertise, Thorn EMI's films division was recognised for export sales, and an export award also went to Cleveland Bedpath Engineering for export successes. GEC picked up four awards and British Telecom was recognised for work on optical fibres.

Skyship 600 model would "break new frontiers" in airborne engineering and survey work. "The ship's combination of endurance, low speed control and stable working environment are unique and perfectly suited for these tasks," he said.

Airship, which is controlled by an Australian firm, Bond Corporation, sold its first ship to a subsidiary of Japan Air Lines for advertising usage, and the company now has high hopes of following up the Canadian deal with further fresh sales.

## NEWS IN BRIEF

## Too few accountants

THERE IS a shortage of young qualified or partly qualified accountants in Britain to satisfy nationwide demand for their services, according to a survey by Accountancy Personnel, out today. The shortage is reported in every major area of employment in Britain and comes only two years after many accountants who are now much sought after, were having difficulty finding employment.

THE BASIC salaries of management (executive director) rose by 7.6 per cent during the last financial year, according to the twice-yearly survey published by Reward. Total remuneration, however, went up by only 7 per cent because many companies introduced job evaluation and merit based salary increases to replace often haphazard bonus schemes, the survey found.

TRACTOR Shovel, the Scottish earthmoving arm of London and Northern Group, announced yesterday that it had won contracts worth a total of almost £11 million to build two stretchers of road in Scotland.

NIGEL MORRIS, the chairman of Slough Estates, has been elected chairman of Aims of Industry. He succeeds John Lyle, who died last month.

COCA-COLA said it plans to announce a most significant new soft drink development in the company's history tomorrow.

## Wage bill row dogs Hellenic yard talks

From George Coats in Athens

Problems have arisen in negotiations which have just opened between Greek shipyard Stavros Niarchos's Hellenic Shipyards and the government-owned Hellenic Development Bank (ETVA) for the purchase by the state of the loss-making yards.

The talks are aimed at saving the jobs of the yard's 5,000 workers after months of labour problems led up to the surprise April 1 announcement by Mr Niarchos that he would close the Skaramanga yards. But, as talks started the Hellenic shipyard's management said it

would not foot the company's wage bill during their expected six-week duration. The government is insisting that the salaries are still the company's responsibility.

The company insists that the yard, which has lost more than \$40 million over the past three years, is still in operation at the government's wish. Elections are due in early June, and the socialist government is faced with the unpalatable alternatives of adding yet another lame duck enterprise in a recession-struck sector to its already overstuffed portfolio of state sector loss-makers, or seeing 5,000 workers made redundant.

## Insurance systems lead Sherwood to market

By Tony May

After operating in virtually the same way for 300 years, Lloyd's underwriters and brokers are increasingly turning to computer systems to do their number crunching and risk assessing.

This is the promising field in which Sherwood Computer Services has been growing. Run by Mr Terry Dicken since 1971, the company made a profit of £330,000 last year and is coming to the USM with a forecast that profits will reach £550,000 this year.

With over 25 clients, including 40 per cent of all syndicates and 40 insurance companies, the group claims to be

the market leader in the provision of computer services to insurance folk.

Laurence, Prust is arranging an offer for sale. The tender of a 50 per cent stake in the company at a minimum tender price of 145p a share. At that price the group would be capitalised at £5.2 million. The £680,000 to be raised at the minimum price will be spent on a new computer goddies for the group and on vital research and development.

Mr Dicken attributes much of the group's success in increasing profits, by an average of 30 per cent compound a year, to its constant development of better systems.

## 'Chances growing' of oil price collapse

By John Hooper, Energy Correspondent

There is now a one-in-four chance of a collapse in the price of oil and the odds are likely to increase year by year, the director of the Botolph Claydon Centre for International Energy Studies claims in a review published today. But, argues Mr Peter Odell, such a collapse would be in the oil industry's best interests.

The price of oil has been driven well above its "equilibrium level", which Mr Odell puts at around \$7 a barrel, unless it comes down sharply from its present level of about \$28, consumers will continue to abandon oil in favour of alternative energy sources.

"In the world outside the centrally planned economies, the oil industry would be a declining industry marked by a downward spiral of too high prices and too little demand and the premature closure (prior to reserves depletion) of producing areas and the failure of enterprises."

Mr Odell argues that it is virtually beyond Opec's ability to prevent a price crash. But he adds that elsewhere in the world "powerful pressure groups... (including major oil and gas companies) as well as national interests stand to be adversely affected as a result of the consequential undermining of investments in the production of

relatively high cost oil and even higher cost alternative sources of energy. It is these forces which seem likely to be able to inhibit the collapse of the oil price."

Back to Cheap Oil by Peter Odell, in Lloyd's Bank Review number 156, April 1985, available from 71 Lombard Street, London EC3P 3BS.

Saudi Arabia's crude oil production was up slightly at mid-April from a month earlier, and light crude exports took up a larger share of the total, according to private industry sources in the kingdom. An average of 3.6 million to 3.8 million barrels a day of crude oil were produced.

## Resolution could defuse the coffee time-bomb

## COMMODITIES

Robin Stainer

THE SOVIET Union, the rest of Eastern Europe and North Africa and Middle East are all expected to limit their coffee sales to non-members, which have been running at record levels, while sales to members under quota have been flagging. No limit, however, has been specified.

Delegates said at the weekend that it remained to be seen whether the attempt to end the enormous price differential by the result of the fact that non-members buy coffee often of a type rejected by the more discriminating Western buyers, can now be eliminated. "We hope it will be totally effective," the producers' spokesman, Brazil's Jorio Dauster, said. "If we fail the whole organisation here both producers and consumers, will have failed."

The consumers' Dutch spokesman, Abraham van Overbeek, said that the decision was a first step in the right direction. "If the resolution is effective then a time-bomb that has been ticking away under the ICO for years will have been defused. ICO consumers will have been appeased and producers will have both their political commitment to keeping the coffee pact going for its full six-year life to the end of 1989."

Furthermore, world prices in general could be boosted, and end to the price differential would reduce incentives to smuggle cheaply bought coffee, ostensibly destined for non-members, into member countries. This is certainly a threat to the effectiveness of import controls.

call for parity, which effectively means raising the price to non-members on a parity basis with the current penalties ranging from a cut in an offender's quota to, in extreme cases, expulsion from the ICO.

In addition, the resolution also requires producers to limit their sales to non-members, which have been running at record levels, while sales to members under quota have been flagging. No limit, however, has been specified.

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The decision of producers, marshalled by Brazil, to propose a clamp-down on coffee sales of coffee was certainly a surprise development last week. No initiatives, however, were forthcoming from producers on the other main source of complaint by consumers—the underpayment of export quotas.

Although producers have recently been attempting to deflect criticism on this score by boosting exports, shipments under quota (an entitlement, not an obligation to export) in the six months to the end of March fell short of the 30 million bag allocation for the period by 3.7 million.

ICO consumers asked producers to take corrective measures, Mr van Overbeek said, and were "disappointed" by their "refusal" to do so. Two consumer proposals, both aimed at increasing supplies under quota, were blocked by producers.

Under the first, producers that had seriously underdelivered would have had the amount involved deducted from their quotas and added to those that had fulfilled their quotas and had coffee for export. The other would have increased the global quota for the present 1984-85 marketing year from the current 60 million bags to 60.7 million by granting requests from some 100 producers and producers for increases in their individual allocations.

Leading producer sources said that the first proposal equated underpayment with quota shortfall and so was unacceptable. A shortfall when a country cannot meet its quota because it has not enough coffee. Failure to declare shortfalls, which can be redistributed, is a punishable offence. Producers argue that underpayment, which is not simply reflects lack of demand for quota coffee, partly because roasters are living off their stocks, and partly because the 1984-85 global export quota is anyway inflated, being some 2 million bags at least above estimated demand for the period.

**This Tuesday don't miss this visual aid show at**  
the Brewery, Chiswell Street EC1  
1100-1630 hrs 23 April  
**Magiboards CITY RECEPTION**  
(Barbican or Moorgate tube)

## ISSUES OF GOVERNMENT STOCK

The Bank of England announces that Her Majesty's Treasury has created on 19th April 1985, and has issued to the following stocks:

**£250 million 12½ per cent EXCHEQUER STOCK, 1990**  
**£250 million 10½ per cent EXCHEQUER STOCK, 1995**  
**£150 million 11½ per cent TREASURY STOCK, 2001-2004**

The price paid by the Bank on issue was in each case the middle market closing price of the relevant Stock on 19th April 1985 as certified by the Government Broker. In addition, Her Majesty's Treasury has created on 19th April 1985, and has issued to the National Debt Commissioners for public funds under their management, an additional amount of £100 million of 11 per cent Exchequer Stock, 1989.

In each case, the amount issued on 19th April 1985 represents a further tranche of the relevant Stock, ranking in all respects pari passu with that Stock and subject to the terms and conditions of its prospectus, save as to the particulars therein which related solely to the initial sale of the Stock Application has been made to the Council of the Stock Exchange for each further tranche of stock to be admitted to the Official List.

Copies of the prospectuses for 12½ per cent Exchequer Stock, 1990, 10½ per cent Exchequer Stock, 1995 and 11½ per cent Treasury Stock, 2001-2004, dated 11th March 1981, 9th January 1978 and 18th May 1979 respectively, may be obtained at the Bank of England, New Issues, Watling Street, London, EC4M 8AA. The Stocks are repayable at par, and interest is payable half-yearly, on the dates shown below:

Stock	Redemption date	Interest payment dates
12½ per cent Exchequer Stock, 1990	22nd March 1990	22nd March
10½ per cent Exchequer Stock, 1995	21st July 1995	22nd September
11½ per cent Treasury Stock, 2001-2004	19th March 2004, or on or at any time after 19th March 2001 subject to not less than three months' notice	21st January 19th March 19th September

Each further tranche of stock issued on 19th April 1985 will rank for a full six months' interest on the next interest payment date applicable to the relevant Stock. Official dealings in the Stocks on the Stock Exchange are expected to commence on Monday, 22nd April 1985.

BANK OF ENGLAND

19th April 1985

## DEMOCRATIC AND POPULAR REPUBLIC OF ALGERIA

MINISTRY OF ENERGY AND CHEMICAL AND PETROCHEMICAL INDUSTRIES  
NATIONAL OIL WELL COMPANY  
(ENTREPRISE NATIONALE DES TRAVAUX AUX Puits)

INTERNATIONAL CALL TO TENDER  
NUMBER 0751-1K/MEC

The National Oil Well Company is launching a national and international call to tender open to all competitors for the provision of:

## FILTERS (Various Types)

Those tenderers who are interested by this invitation to tender may obtain specifications on payment of the sum of 400 Algerian dinars, from the following address:

ENTREPRISE NATIONALE DES TRAVAUX AUX Puits — 15, ROUTE DE MEFTAH — OUED — SMAR — EL HARRACH — ALGER — ALGERIA — DIRECTION DES APPROVISIONNEMENTS — AS FROM THE PUBLICATION OF THIS NOTICE.

Tenders drawn up in five (5) copies must be sent in a double sealed and registered packet to the Secretariat of the Direction Approvisionnement to the address mentioned above.

The outer envelope must be anonymous, with no marking except the following endorsement:

"APPEL A LA CONCURRENCE OUVERT NATIONAL ET INTERNATIONAL NO. 0751/1K/MEC — CONFIDENTIEL A NE PAS OUVRIR".

The tenders must arrive within 45 days of the first publication of this notice.

The option period shall be 180 days as from the closing date of the Open Invitation to Tender.

JPM 10.15.85





Linbert Spencer... an easy-going individual who knows all about grassroots problems

## Fullempley... where the unusual is normal

Mary Brasier meets Linbert Spencer, the private sector's answer to youth unemployment

### BUSINESS PEOPLE

LINBERT SPENCER is not many people's idea of a chief executive. He is 37, he is black and by his own account he has not had a real job for the past decade or more.

The only convincing things about him are his pin stripe suit and a penchant for financial jargon that makes you want to reach for a dictionary or accounting terms. He is the new executive head of Project Fullempley. He is an unusual man in a highly unusual organisation. Project Fullempley is normally dubbed the private sector's answer to youth unemployment. It was started 12 years ago by two money brokers, Stephen O'Brien and Patrick Coldstream. It trains young people with virtually no academic or technical skills for jobs in offices, with computers, shops and in the printing trade.

Fullempley has government backing but over half its funds come from British industry—a string of names that includes Marks & Spencer, The Body Shop and ICI. Its success rate in finding employment for mostly black youngsters has been startlingly high with up to 78 per cent of trainees from some centres being placed immediately, but is now inevitably under pressure from the lengthening queue nationwide.

To most people Spencer has not taken on a job so much as a Sisyphean-like burden. He would not disagree. He comes from having spent 11 years in Manchester in

community work which ranged from being director of operations for a youth association to community liaison officer for Greater Manchester Council where his brief was to improve relations between the police and the public. It was the kind of work that demands total involvement and commitment or as Spencer says: "It is not my job, it is what I do."

He says his last proper job was in the early seventies when he worked as an actor, aspiring to a part in the rock musical Hair. Along the way he trained as an accountant, working at Rolls-Royce where he handled the (apparently frequent) repairs bill for Prince Philip's Alvis.

His chequered experience which makes most career patterns in British business look positively staid, has given him a very practical, pragmatic approach to the task of developing Project Fullempley. He has not yet imagined any particular use for his acting talents but he has plans to put some of his accounting skills into practice.

Fullempley costs around £1.75 million a year to run. That covers 11 training centres, mostly in London but also Birmingham and Bristol.

Last year, the Manpower Services Commission chipped in £524,000 and other Government agencies and charity donations made the total up to £1 million. But the figure conceals the far greater resources needed to support Fullempley's activities. A major part of the private sector's contribution to Fullempley is in the form of secondments of teaching staff, loan of premises and other unquantifiables.

"One of the things I want to do is to identify what the real costs of running Fullempley are so we can add in the invisibles," says Spencer. "The Government ought to know what it costs and their support ought to be geared to real costs." It is part of a wider strategy of putting Fullempley's finances on a more sound long term footing. It is very dependent on the fluctuating funds available through Government bodies or the sort of one-off fund raising it undertook in 1982 when it made a City "cash call" for £5 million. "I am anxious to develop a capital fund with a minimum of £1 million, where we can have a safety net and generate income that we have not got to ask for each year. At the moment we are almost totally dependent on negotiating revenue income for each year," he added.

"I would like to feel that in two years we would at least be in the position whereby the pressure would be off slightly in terms of time scale," Spencer feels the balance between Government and private sector funding is about right.

It means the chief executive has to be able to talk his way into Britain's top boardrooms and communicate with black youngsters who have been on the dole for some years in places such as Hackney and Woolwich. Spencer has little problem with either group. He is an easy-going individual who has learnt from spending 24 hours a day in run down parts of Manchester where he set up offices and into the job, recognising the boundaries of your work only when you hear the sound

of breaking glass, what the problems at the grass roots are. But he also believes that community work whether it is Manchester or Lambeth has to adopt something of the practices of more worldly projects. "Community workers often fail to recognise that the rest of the world is operating on different lines, and that they should identify points of contact as a basis of community action."

There could be more marriages between industry and the community he believes if projects could show that they are well organised and the decision making processes although different were nonetheless in place. "These generally speaking tend to be second rate goals never tackled by communally based groups."

Spencer does not want to — and clearly could not afford to — lose the private sector initiative in Fullempley. But he believes it is time to increase awareness about the organisation and its work. "We have been good at making sure the City understands Fullempley. More chairman of companies know about it than heads of voluntary organisations, that is ironic. I also want the black community to feel Fullempley is owned by them. That is a fairly hefty task. Part of the change is profile and making sure it is better known."

Being black helps, concedes Spencer, although he is bound to be viewed as something of an exception to the lot of black people in Britain. Not a lot of Fullempley's trainees can imagine themselves in pin stripe suits. He keeps his base in Manchester

## It can pay farmers to keep out chemicals

### CONSUMER COLUMN

ONE ANSWER to the crisis fast approaching the cereal industry — uneconomic, overpriced surpluses and the threat of frozen EEC price guarantees — is to turn to low-input organic farming, and charge consumers more for less of an arguably healthier product.

The idea has a growing attraction for many farmers who are increasingly dissatisfied with the organic sector as simply bearded or weird. It has potential benefits, too, for the minority of consumers who are prepared to pay higher prices for chemical-free food.

One firm, W. Jordan of Biggleswade, Bedfordshire, is sufficiently optimistic about prospects in this area to be aiming at a 50,000 tonnes a year output of cereals, grown under contract by farmers who have to agree to a low chemical input system. In return they receive a guaranteed market, and an 8 per cent price premium.

So far 100 farmers have contracted to supply W. Jordan's scheme, and the target is to bring the total to 300 by September. None of the Ministry of Agriculture's approved list of chemicals is allowed on their contracted cereal acreage. Strawburning is not allowed. The crops must not follow oilseed rape, because the chemicals used on rape persist in the soil for more than 40 weeks after use, and the rape crops always attracts slugs. Chemical slug killers are not allowed.

There is only limited use of certain approved herbicides, and some specialist fertilisers which leave soil and crops free from residues. This is not full-scale organic farming. Jordan has taken out a patent to protect its "conservation standard" description of the extent to which



If it's chemical free, farmers can harvest success

The food grown in this way is free from chemicals. W. Jordan inspects the fields of farmers under contract and gives advice if necessary. Then the "conservation" quality cereals grown are incorporated in the firm's muesli product, and there are plans to extend this grade of produce into the toasted cereals, crunchy bars and other products, too.

The family firm was established in 1955 and until 14 years ago produced white flour like everyone else at the time. But the current managing director of the cereal side, Mr Bill Jordan, came back then from working in the United States to take his place in the business and chose a change of direction. He had seen the success of organic farming in the US and switched production to wholemeal flour, wheatgerm, muesli and all the other "health" products.

The British muesli market is now worth £52 million a year, of which Jordan has a 9 per cent share, but the market is expanding by 8 per cent annually. Crunchy bars are also booming: sales in Britain are now worth £15 million a year, grow by 40 per cent last year.

The farmers who grow cereals by the organic farming rules, laid down receive an 8 per cent premium price, and have saved substantially on chemical inputs on their land. There are other benefits, since farmers should notice an improvement in soil structure, worm activity and a return of natural predators of insect pests.

For W. Jordan, the benefits are equally tangible. The firm's turnover has increased from £4 million in 1980 to £14 million last year.

Rosemary Collins

Application has been made to the Council of The Stock Exchange for the whole of the Ordinary share capital of Domino Printing Sciences plc, issued and to be issued, to be admitted to the Official List.

## Domino Printing Sciences plc

(registered in England under the Companies Act 1948 No. 1365137)

### Nature of Business

Domino's business is the development, manufacture, sale and service of continuous ink jet printers and the supply of associated consumables. Applications include product marking and coding in the packaging industry and high speed addressing, serialising and numbering in the printing industry.

Domino is now the market leader for continuous ink jet printers for industrial applications in the United Kingdom and Western Europe. Domino ink jet printers are sold in the Americas, Australia and New Zealand by American Technologies.

### Procedure for Application

(i) No person receiving a copy of this Offer for Sale or an Application Form in any territory other than the United Kingdom may treat the same as constituting an invitation to him, nor should he in any event use such Application Form, unless in the relevant territory such an invitation could lawfully be made to him and such Form could lawfully be used without compliance with any registration or other legal requirements, it is the responsibility of any person outside the United Kingdom wishing to make application hereunder to satisfy himself as to full observance of the laws of the relevant territory in connection therewith including obtaining any governmental or other consents which may be required or observing any other restrictions tending to be observed in such territory.

(ii) The right is reserved to accept or refuse applications for shares on receipt, to return Letters of Acceptance and surplus applications monies pending the clearing of all cheques and bankers' drafts of successful applications, to accept or refuse to accept or to reject or scale down applications and in particular, to reject multiple or suspected multiple applications. On completion and delivery of an Application Form accompanied by a cheque or banker's draft will constitute a warranty that the cheque or banker's draft, accompanied by a return of the Application Form to the Registrar, is drawn to the order of the Registrar and is payable to the order of the Registrar.

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(iv) We acknowledge that any Letter of Acceptance and any monies returnable may be held pending clearance of all cheques and bankers' drafts.

(v) We warrant that the cheques or bankers' drafts payable to "National Westminster Bank PLC" and crossed "Not Negotiable" for the above mentioned sum, being the amount payable on application for the named number of Ordinary shares of 5p each of Domino Printing Sciences plc, shall be deposited with the Registrar of Companies in London on or before 24th May 1985.

(vi) In consideration of your agreeing to accept applications on the terms and subject to the conditions of the said Prospectus for an aggregate number of 5,497,313 Ordinary shares of 5p each of Domino Printing Sciences plc, I/we agree that the applications shall be receivable until 24th May 1985 and that the applications shall be receivable until 24th May 1985 and that the applications shall be receivable until 24th May 1985.

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Applications complying with the above procedure will be dealt with on the following basis:

(i) All Applications will have complete discretion in deciding the basis of allocation.

(ii) In deciding Hill Samuel will have regard to the need to establish a satisfactory market in the shares, for which purpose a reasonable number of shareholders is required. The basis of allocation will be announced on or as soon as possible after 24th April 1985.

(iii) Preference will be given in respect of a maximum of 2.5 per cent of the shares being offered for sale to applicants who are employees of the Company or its subsidiaries on the special plain Employee Application Form provided for this purpose. In the event of excess preferential applications being received from employees, the basis of allocation among them will be determined by Hill Samuel at its discretion.

(iv) If any application is not accepted, or is accepted for fewer shares than the number applied for, the application monies will be repaid to the applicant on application will be repaid by cheque through the post, in all cases without interest, at the risk of the applicant concerned.

(v) The Offer for Sale and the acceptance of applications is conditional on the Council of The Stock Exchange admitting to the Official List the whole of the Ordinary share capital of the Company, issued and now being issued, not later than 24th May 1985. Money paid in respect of all applications will be returned without interest and in the risk of the applicant concerned if listing is not granted and in the meantime will be retained by National Westminster Bank PLC in a separate account.

(vi) Renounceable Letters of Acceptance are expected to be sent to successful applicants on 1st May 1985 and will be returnable up to 31st May 1985. The shares now being offered for sale will be repaid two stamp duty in the names of the purchasers or persons in whose favour Letters of Acceptance have been renounced, provided that, in the case of renunciation, Letters of Acceptance duly completed in accordance with the instructions contained therein are lodged for registration on or before 10.00 a.m. on 31st May 1985. Share certificates will be despatched by first class post on or before 26th June 1985.

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## BBC-1

6.00 am Ceefax AM. 6.50 Breakfast Time. 9.20 Pages from Ceefax. 10.30 Play School. 10.50 Asian Magazine. 11.20 Pages from Ceefax. 12.30 pm News at Noon. 12.57 Regional News. 1.00 Pebble Mill at One. 1.45 Chingley. 2.00 Family History. 2.25 Streetwise. Self-defence advice. 2.35 Prima! 2.50 Songs of Praise from Greenock. Ceefax sub-titles. 3.25 Pages from Ceefax. 3.53 Regional News (except London and Scotland). 4.35 Bertha. 4.10 Captain Caveman. 4.20 Busker. 4.35 Dungeons and Dragons. 4.55 John Craven's Newsround. 5.5 Blue Peter. Ceefax sub-titles. 5.35 Grange Hill. Ceefax sub-titles.

6.00 NEWS. Weather news.

6.35 REGIONAL NEWS MAGAZINES.

7.00 WOGAN with the director of Friends of the Earth, Jonathan Porritt, pop star Toyah, photographer Suzie Randall, and desert explorer Ted Edwards.

7.40 FAME: Nothing Personal. The leotard and legwarmer kids taste the power of the press when Chris reviews a student concert and finds that the critic's lot is not a happy one.

8.30 THREE UP, TWO DOWN. Continuing the new domestic sitcom with Michael Elphick and Angela Thorne as the rival relatives-in-law, basic Sam and posh Daphne. Tonight they both move into the basement, but it's far from home sweet home.

9.00 NEWS. Weather News.

9.25 PANORAMA: Germany Divided - For Good? It's almost 17 years since the end of World War II but the former Fatherland is still divided and emotions still conflict. Fred Emery talks to Germans of all ages from East and West about their views on the war and the great divide. In West Germany it will be officially a time of remembrance, of the disaster of defeat and rebirth of democracy. On the other side, a time to celebrate Soviet liberation from fascism and the birth of the Communist state. But what do the people think?

10.15 RICH AND FAMOUS. TV premiere of George Cukor's updated version of Old Acquaintance. Candice Bergen and Jacqueline Bisset star in the love-story-literary-lauels blockbuster, as school pals who grow up to be writers and fall for the same man. Not so much close as a few frills. 12.00 Weather. 12.5 Close.

Wales: 6.25-6.30 pm Wales Today. 6.35-7.00 am Northern Ireland: 6.25 pm Today's Sport. 6.40-6.45 Inside Ulster. 6.55-7.00 am Tavi.

## BBC-2

6.30-7.20 am Open University. 9.00 Pages from Ceefax. 10.25 World Snooker.

5.25 NEWS with subtitles. Weather.

5.30 NEW MOON. The legendary Nelson Eddy and Jeanette MacDonald croon on in the Caribbean with romance, adventure, and Sigmund Romberg's music in the 1940 black and white film which owes much to Naughty Marietta.

7.10 WORLD SNOOKER. Back to the green baize where there's kissing the pinks and potting the blacks in the quarter finals of the World Professional Snooker Championships. Live coverage from the Crucible. Sheffield, plus Shot of the Championship contest.

8.10 HORIZON: IRAS - The Super-cooled Eye. A Dutch-American-British team has created a real cool customer, the Infrared Astronomical Satellite, which can read the unknown face of the universe through heat radiation. The satellite has detected evidence for planetary systems around stars, seen new stars being born and discovered 20,000 galaxies somewhere out there. Cooled to zero, the telescope can detect a bike at 2,000 miles.

9.00 WORLD SNOOKER. Again. David Vine gives the highlights of this evening's quarter final matches.

9.30 THE YOUNG ONES. Interesting. More anarchic humour from the cult heroes, repeated, but still as funny the second time around.

10.5 MARC CHAGALL. Arena tribute to the great master who died last month, aged 97. The film includes Chagall's last interview, and charts his life from his early years in Russia to Paris and his home in the South of France in his own words, and with readings from his autobiography. We also see him at work in his studio on the paintings which reveal the inner man.

10.50 NEWSNIGHT. 11.45 Weatherview.

11.40 WORLD SNOOKER. Just in case you were getting withdrawal pains, more highlights from Sheffield. 12.15 Close.

## ITV London

6.15 am Good Morning Britain. 9.25 Headlines: Schools. 9.30 Picture Box. 9.47 Let's Read. 10.15 Finding Out. 10.32 The English Programme. 11.2 Seeing and Doing. 11.28 Junior Maths. 11.38 The French Programme. 12.00 Alphabet Zoo. 12.10 pm Let's Pretend. 12.30 Pennywise. 1.00 News. 1.20 Thames News. 1.30 Film: The President's Mistress. 1978 spy hook with Beau Bridges, Karen Grassie, Larry Hagman. 3.25 News Headlines. 3.30 The Young Doctors. 4.00 Alphabet Zoo. 4.15 Bedtime. 4.20 He-Man and Masters of the Universe. 4.45 Dramarama. Oracle sub-titles. 5.15 Duffin Strokes.

5.45 NEWS.

6.00 THAMES NEWS.

6.25 HELP! with Viv Taylor Gee. Oracle sub-titles.

6.35 CROSSROADS.

7.00 WHAT'S MY LINE? Eamonn Andrews and the fossilised panel game. This time Angela Rippon, Jill Cooper, George Gale, and Ernie Wise try to guess the odd occupations and the mystery celebrity.

7.30 CORONATION STREET. Brian sleeps rough and Vera gets an unexpected anniversary present. Oracle sub-titles.

8.00 ROLL OVER BERTHOVEN. Will dainty Belinda go on the road with rock star lover Nigel? Will she stay with dear old Dad? Liza Goddard and Nigel Planer star as the odd couple in the new series of the musical sitcom.

8.30 WORLD IN ACTION: Not For Love or Money. Second part of the Granada programme on surrogate motherhood and allied topics shows film of an operation in America to plant human embryos into a surrogate's womb. The embryos were created in a test tube from the sperm and eggs of a childless couple. A resulting child will therefore have three "natural" parents.

9.00 THE SWEENEY: Messenger Of The Gods. Repeat of the cops and robbers series with John Thaw and Dennis Waterman.

10.00 NEWS AT TEN. Thames News Headlines.

10.30 THE SEVEN-UPS. Roy Schneider as the leader of a group of detectives on the trail of criminals destined for a seven-year stretch or more.

12.25 NIGHT THOUGHTS with Jan Simonds. Close.

## Channel 4

2.35 pm Vietnam: The Ten Thousand Day War. 23: The Unsung Soldiers. 3.00 The Late Show. 4.00 Cautionary Tales. 4.20 Isaura the Slave Girl. Fantastico.

5.30 I COULD DO THAT. 2. Getting Started. Continuing to follow the fortunes of four youngsters from the North-east who hope to be the tycoons of tomorrow.

6.00 WHERE IN THE WORLD? Ray Alan hosts another trip round the travel quiz bay.

6.30 ATROS: Stone on Stone. Third film on Mount Athos, the Holy Mountain in the Aegean, features the outstanding architecture of the oldest surviving Christian monastic centre where 2,000 holy men pray in peace. But their solitude is about to be threatened by the bulldozer and concrete mixer.

7.00 CHANNEL FOUR NEWS. 7.50 Comment by journalist Carolyn Faulder. Weather.

8.00 BROOKSIDE.

8.30 MANN'S BEST FRIENDS. Continuing the chaotic capers of the Mann menagerie.

9.00 END OF EMPIRE. 2. India - Engine of War. Not so much the jewel but the thorn in the crown. Wars and all look from Granada at the last years of the British rule in India.

10.00 NEWHART. Bob continues to waste his talents on the bland Stateside sitcom.

10.30 THE ELEVENTH HOUR: Unstable Elements - Atomic Stories 1939-85. This new feature length film on Britain's nuclear policy launched a four-week season on our future under shadow of the bomb. In the wake of the Sizewell Inquiry and the Australian Commission on Britain's atomic testing, the film combines a documentary with a drama commenting on issues through the tense relationship of a nuclear scientist (Donald Sutherland) with his rebellious teenage daughter (Susannah Clements). 11.15 Close.

5.40: 1.00 Isaura the Slave Girl. Fantastico. 2.00 El Cid. 3.00 El Cid. 3.30 El Cid. 4.00 El Cid. 4.30 El Cid. 5.00 El Cid. 5.30 El Cid. 6.00 El Cid. 6.30 El Cid. 7.00 El Cid. 7.30 El Cid. 8.00 El Cid. 8.30 El Cid. 9.00 El Cid. 9.30 El Cid. 10.00 El Cid. 10.30 El Cid. 11.00 El Cid. 11.30 El Cid. 12.00 El Cid. 12.30 El Cid. 13.00 El Cid. 13.30 El Cid. 14.00 El Cid. 14.30 El Cid. 15.00 El Cid. 15.30 El Cid. 16.00 El Cid. 16.30 El Cid. 17.00 El Cid. 17.30 El Cid. 18.00 El Cid. 18.30 El Cid. 19.00 El Cid. 19.30 El Cid. 20.00 El Cid. 20.30 El Cid. 21.00 El Cid. 21.30 El Cid. 22.00 El Cid. 22.30 El Cid. 23.00 El Cid. 23.30 El Cid. 24.00 El Cid. 24.30 El Cid. 25.00 El Cid. 25.30 El Cid. 26.00 El Cid. 26.30 El Cid. 27.00 El Cid. 27.30 El Cid. 28.00 El Cid. 28.30 El Cid. 29.00 El Cid. 29.30 El Cid. 30.00 El Cid. 30.30 El Cid. 31.00 El Cid. 31.30 El Cid. 32.00 El Cid. 32.30 El Cid. 33.00 El Cid. 33.30 El Cid. 34.00 El Cid. 34.30 El Cid. 35.00 El Cid. 35.30 El Cid. 36.00 El Cid. 36.30 El Cid. 37.00 El Cid. 37.30 El Cid. 38.00 El 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## Sports Minister says electric shock deterrent goes too far

### Safety check for Chelsea 'cattle fence'

By David Hearst

Safety inspectors of the Greater London Council will today scrutinise plans by Chelsea Football Club to install an electric fence to prevent pitch invasions.

The measure, described by the club's chairman, Mr Ken Bates, as the "ultimate deterrent" to football hooligans, was attacked over the weekend by Mr Neil Macfarlane, the Sports Minister, who said: "Chelsea was going too far. The day has not yet come when we need to see electric fences at our football grounds," he said.

The GLC, which issues safety certificates to major sports grounds, is to see whether the wire around the pitch perimeter fence falls within the terms of the Safety at Sports Grounds Act.

Mr Simon Turney, chairman of the GLC's public services committee said the GLC had not been consulted by Mr Bates. "This is a very unsavoury plan. The reaction I have had from my colleagues is 'What comes next — water cannons, guards, tanks and consultant undertakers — to ferry away the dead?'"

"The whole plan at the moment seems to have been very ill-thought. We will have to think very hard before any consent is given."

But Mr Turney was unsure last night of the GLC's powers under existing legislation. If the club needed the GLC's approval to install the wire permission would almost certainly not be granted in time for next Saturday's home game against Tottenham.

Mr Bates, a millionaire farmer, said at the weekend that he had the approval of police for the wire, which would be a single strand of cable carrying a charge of 12 volts, strung above three

strands of barbed wire at the top of a lift fence.

Calling on Mr Macfarlane to resign, Mr Bates said the Government had washed its hands of the problem of football violence.

Chelsea received qualified support from the football authorities over the weekend. Mr Bert Millichip, chairman of the Football Association, said that Chelsea was only responding to the government wish to make clubs responsible for crowd behaviour inside grounds.

Mr Jack Dunnett, president of the Football League, said he would welcome the fence if it did not injure the innocent. Mr Macfarlane has yet to receive the football authorities' response to the range of possible measures raised in their discussion with Mrs Thatcher three weeks ago.

Measures include the introduction of membership cards, the installation of more sturdy perimeter fences, closed circuit television, and the increased use of family enclosures.

A spokeswoman for the Department of the Environment said last night that department officials would be looking at Chelsea's proposal.

Mr Simon Turney — "GLC not consulted"



HANDICAPS: One marathon entrant carries extra weight on his shoulders, while another has to take the weight of his feet.

## Marathon has more runners, faster times

Continued from page one

ned "virgins" running their first marathons. When the event began in 1981, spawning regular local marathons and half-marathons all over Britain, the figure was 50 per cent. The St John Ambulance Brigade said it had dealt with far fewer casualties than last year.

A man from a Missogram agency broke out of the crowd and ran towards the men's winner, Steve Jones, as the Welshman crossed Westminster Bridge to the finish line after a

policeman rugby-tackled him, he was taken to Kennington police station and interviewed but not charged. Police said he was a publicist-hunter for the same agency as a girl who appeared topless after this year's best race.

Jones won in a provisional British best time of 2 hours, 8 minutes, 16 seconds, beating last year's winner, Charlie Spedding, in the fastest time in the race's history. Ingrid Christensen, who trained on a treadmill in her kitchen during the Norwe-

gian winter, won the women's event in a new world and British all-comers best time of 2 hours, 21 minutes, 6 seconds. Her total prize money was £58,000.

The oldest entrant, 82-year-old Bob Wiseman of Greenwich, ran despite a winter of illness. The 65-year-old Jimmy Savile ran, talking to his sister in Australia on a portable telephone and raising £100,000 in sponsorship for the disabled. As for the disabled, they had their own fiercely competitive wheelchair race, for which some

had trained 100 miles a week.

The marathon is expected to raise £4 million for charities, its toll of blisters, cramp and exhaustion showed as the stragglers came walking in on legs which would no longer set. But for most the recovery time was short.

And on their way they had seen a pearly king and queen at Greenwich, a band and crowd singing the Hocky-Cokey in Brompton, and the hares of the fire-breathing wheel chair race, for which some

## Charities lose first claim to hospital land

By David Hencke

Priority for buying surplus hospital land will no longer go to charities or housing associations, the Social Services Secretary, Mr Norman Fowler, has decided.

He has ordered that the land must be sold to the highest bidder. Previously, charities, housing associations and health and local authorities, who wanted to develop sites to help the elderly, the mentally handicapped, or sick people, were given priority.

Mr Fowler's move is aimed to speed up the sale of surplus hospital land and to bring in more money. However, it will affect the ministry's plans to encourage the voluntary sector to give more care to the elderly and handicapped.

It also comes at a time when there is expected to be a rush of property onto the market caused by the closure of many small hospitals in the South-east and when new big district general hospitals are being completed elsewhere, releasing many small cottage hospitals for sale.

"The new policy is another barrier in the way of collaboration between health authorities, housing

associations and the voluntary sector."

The Government's decision was taken at the end of February without any public announcement. Instead, a letter was sent to all regional and district administrators telling them that the priority had been revoked. The letter ends by saying that private property to nursing homes, hospices and to the voluntary sector unless their bids are above commercial offers.

It also abolishes private sales and transfers between health authorities, including selling land to any of London's top teaching hospitals. Social services departments and housing associations are also no longer entitled to obtain land cheaply if they want to build homes for the elderly and handicapped.

The Department of Health and Social Security said the decision had been taken mainly to speed up land sales because hospital property had been left empty for a long time while the voluntary sector made up its mind whether it would bid. A spokesman said that it was still possible for health authorities to agree to lease land or hospitals to charities but they could no longer sell them the land below the market value.

## Nurses to monitor private contractors

By David Hencke

Nurses are to be asked by the Royal College of Nursing to monitor the standards of private contractors in hospitals and health centres.

The RCN, which is officially neutral about contracting out services and is normally the least militant of health organisations, says it is launching the monitoring exercise after evidence of low standards in Addenbrooke's Hospital in Cambridge and Barking Hospital in East London.

The guidelines say: "We are now concerned by directives being issued by the Department of Health seeking to wrest from health authorities judgment when contracting out services."

"There is pressure from the Department of Health to heavily load the dice in favour of private contractors or force in-house tenderers to lower standards in order to be able to compete, which the college deplors."

Mr Trevor Clay, general secretary of the RCN, said: "We

are concerned about the abolition of fair wage rates for staff and the worsening of conditions for employees. We are also very worried that some companies could go into liquidation because they tender for such low rates."

He said that by 1987 there would be more than 2,000 private contracts among these services in the NHS.

The guidelines urge nurses to fill in forms giving details of bad services. Nurses are asked to watch out for the inadequate cleaning of wards and operating theatres, the use of child labour to clean wards, and failure to give health screening to private staff who could be at risk to the health of patients.

They are also urged to monitor shortages of linen, linen returned stained or soiled and failures to sterilise linen properly. They are also urged to monitor catering standards, especially when patients reject food and private firms employ inadequately qualified staff.

## Second ballot urged

Continued from page one

of them were OK. But there were occasions when there was a discrepancy — not a great many, within 10 or in most cases within five — but whoever counted them certainly hadn't counted them properly."

Mr Owens explained that the scrutineers had worked in pairs. Whatever votes he counted, his colleague would also count.

"If we agreed, that's what we would enter on the white paper, and also the pink form if it needed altering. Bert was

at one end of the room. I was at the other. I would say 40 people were operating in this large sort of conference room. I can only speak for myself, our discrepancies were mainly between five and 10. Whoever counted them had double, or counted double in some cases."

Discussing the regional committee, he said: "We've got our sprinkling of what the popular press might call righties and lefties, but I think the majority are Labour Party supporters."

## Postmen go back

The 1,000 postal workers at Northampton sorting office went back to work last night after a week on strike over disputed overtime rates for delivering country council election polling cards, writes Martin Linton.

Postal workers at Leicester, Hereford and Slough also returned and the other offices who joined the dispute are expected to return to work today.

Since Northamptonshire County Council took back its polling cards the two sides had been negotiating a return-to-work formula and this was unanimously accepted by the Northampton postal workers at a mass meeting yesterday.

The Post Office gave a warning that the huge backlog of mail created by the strike would take some days to shift.

The offices expected to return to work today include: Peterborough, Milton Keynes, Coventry, Bedford, Hemel Hempstead, Luton, Stevenage, Nottingham, Preston, London North-west and west central, Romford, and King's Lynn.

## Queen sees 10 arrests

Police arrested 10 anti-hunt demonstrators as they surged in front of the Queen and her party in the royal box at the Badminton horse trials yesterday afternoon.

The woman and nine men ran in front of the royal box at the end of the prize-giving ceremony as the Duke of Beaufort's hunt hounds and horsemen were finishing a display.

The protesters — many wearing punk clothes with spiky hair — ran from one side of the arena to the other with a banner saying "Dig Deeper for the Duke". This was a reference to the digging up of the grave of the 10th Duke of Beaufort by anti-hunt protesters on Boxing Day last year.

Mounted police then raced across the rain-soaked grass to make arrests.

The Queen — who yesterday celebrated her 50th birthday — was in the royal box with the Duke of Beaufort and his wife, Lady Caroline, and Prince and Princess Michael of Kent.

Police said later that 10 people had been arrested and taken to Chipping Sodbury police station.

## Reagan considers Nicaragua plan

Continued from page one

senior Republican and Democratic senators yesterday, to hammer out a suitable compromise formula for bipartisan support. The meeting was cancelled, however, as some senators needed more time to sort out their own racks.

The Democrats have an additional problem, inasmuch as two liberal members of the House, Mr Michael Barnes and Mr Lee Hamilton, are proposing a third course, which would provide \$10 million of humanitarian aid for Nicaraguan refugees through the international relief agencies and \$4 million for the so-called Contra group of Latin American countries to enforce and regional peace pacts which emerged.

In his weekend radio broadcast Mr Reagan attacked this plan as "a shameful surreptitious" which would "hasten the consolidation of Nicaragua as a Communist-terrorist arsenal."

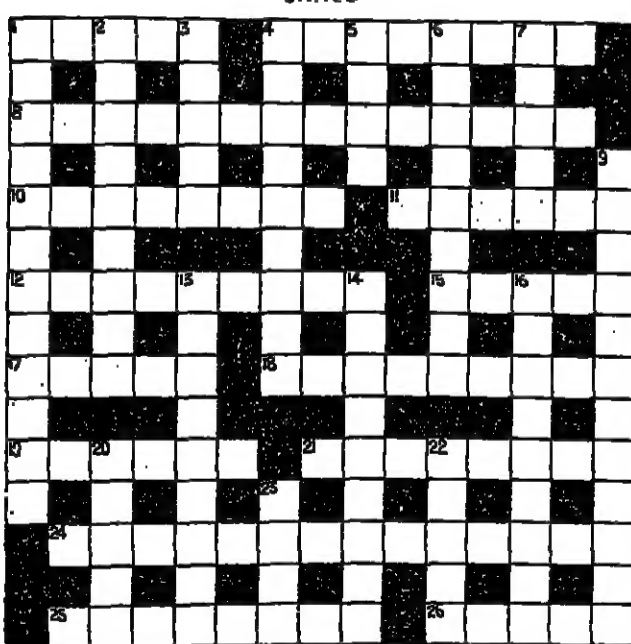
He stepped up the rhetoric as he has been deploying against the "new Cuba" on the American mainland by revealing that

US intelligence had established the presence of Russian military advisers in battle zones in northern Nicaragua — in an advisory rather than a combat capacity, aides subsequently emphasised. One sighting is said to have occurred at Occor, a few miles south of the Honduran border.

The last-minute manoeuvres were taking place against the background of a co-ordinated four-day protest against Reagan policies under the banner of a coalition calling itself "Revolution for Peace, Jobs, and Justice."

Nicaragua, along with South Africa and domestic policy cuts were targets of the marches and rallies, which are scheduled to culminate in a nationwide act of peaceful civil disobedience today as protesters attempt to block the entrance to the White House. On Saturday a crowd, estimated by police at 25,000 and by the Reverend Jesse Jackson at 100,000 waved anti-Reagan banners and heard fierce denunciations of continuing American involvement in Central America.

## GUARDIAN CROSSWORD 17.216



- ACROSS**
- Noel's girl? (5)
  - Key to poem about unruly crowd (5)
  - Confess to having to behave like pantomime dame after show? (7, 7)
  - The lord ordered to be specially made (8)
  - Bond swallowing letter from girl (6)
  - A rod possibly encountered by a beginner and used by highwaymen? (4, 5)
  - In First World War good for nothing when given a poor part (5)
  - Inclines towards contemptible people (5)
  - Pinned medal on girl model indeed! (9)
  - Noise made by bat (6)
  - Italian duke who to us would appear thriving (6)
  - It may show grounds for having drinks on coach (5, 8)
  - Unduly expanded when lined with fat? (8)
  - Was first for example to be put back on shelf (5)
- DOWN**
- What shopman may use to break spell of poor trade? (7, 5)
  - Law experts responsible for article in book about Burns (9)
  - Catch girl with nothing on (5)
  - Remarked on Lawrence needing to be surrounded by praise (9)
  - Condescend to hear man from Copenhagen (4)
  - Were forced back inside by accident (9)
  - Car that turns on an axis (5)
  - Little time to chase after fish for example (6, 6)
  - Imperious combination of rust and flame (9)
  - Material valued as rent (9)
  - Glib talk to boy not plain (9)
  - The top of a coin (5)
  - The way to get everyone a theatre seat (5)
  - Laid hands on some fabric (4)

Solution tomorrow

### SOLUTION TO PRIZE PUZZLE 17.209

Winner of this week's £20 prize is Mr W. H. P. Kaye, of 31 Greyfriar Walk, Bradford. Runners-up (£10 book token each) are: Tom Goodrich, of 18 Kirby Close, Sapcote, Leicestershire; Mrs G. M. Wagner, of 3 Sarre Road, London NW2; and F. A. J. Dent, of 18 Truman's Heath Lane, Hollywood, Birmingham.

## THE WEATHER

### Sunny intervals

PRESSURE will be high to the North-west of Ireland, bringing a rather cold north or north-easterly flow over the British Isles.

London, SE, Dist S and SW England, Channel, NW, NE, and SE, will be sunny with some rain or showers. Max. 11 to 15 (10 to 15). Min. 5 to 10 (5 to 10).

SE, and NW, will be sunny with some rain or showers. Max. 11 to 15 (10 to 15). Min. 5 to 10 (5 to 10).

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### AROUND THE WORLD

(Lanch. time records)			
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